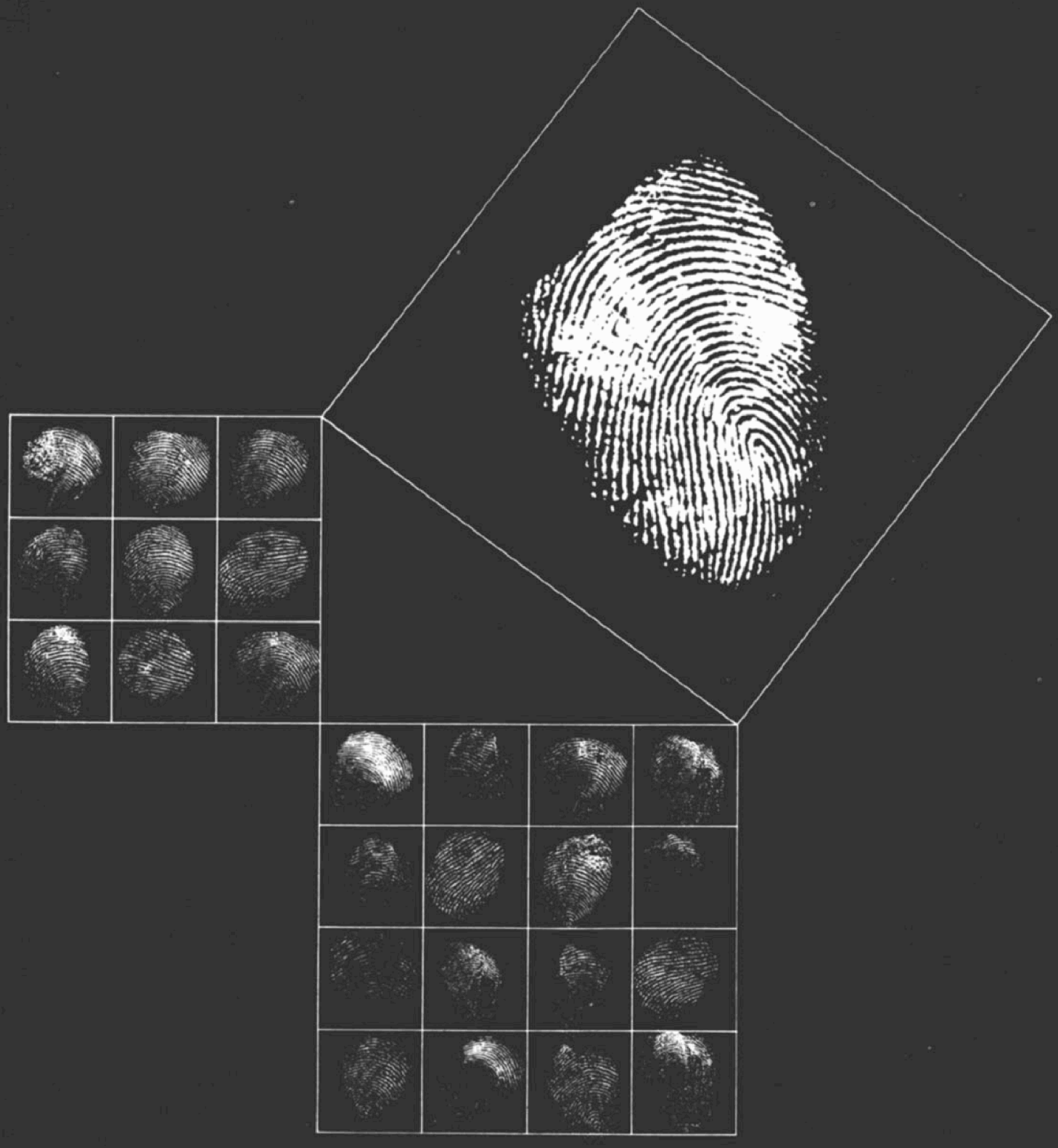
reason

May 1972 / Price: 75 Cents

The public interest: Fact or fraud?



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ ATTEND ■

The First National Conference Of

Libertarian Political Activists

This will be the largest gathering of libertarians ever to assemble for the specific purpose of organizing an election-year effort aimed primarily at promoting liberatarian ideas and offering American voters a chance to repudiate the welfare-warfare philosophy of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Over 200 individuals -- including many leaders of the libertarian movement -- will be on hand, to draw up the national platform of the Libertarian Party, choose candidates, and make plans for co-operation among libertarians all across the nation during the 1972 campaign. If you're at all interested in political action, you should be among the participants.

For further information on this event -- which promises to be <u>the</u> libertarian conference of 1972 -- send $1.00 to the National Conference Committee of the Libertarian Party , 7748 Lowell Boulevard, Westminster, Colorado 80030.

Do it today; participants who register before May 31 will receive a $5 discount on their Conference Registration Fee. And start planning now to take your 1972 vacation in beautiful John Galt country this June!!

Denver, Colorado **June 15 - 18**

reason

MAY 1972
Volume 4, Number 2

Address comments, manuscripts (please include a self-addressed return envelope *with* postage), and subscription orders to P O Box 6151, Santa Barbara, California 93111

REASON is published monthly by Reason Enterprises, 294 Via El Encantador, Santa Barbara, California 93111. tel: 805-964-4131

Single copies, $0.75; special issues, $1.25. Subscriptions: one year (12 issues) in the United States: One year, $9.00; 2 years, $17.00; 3 years, $25.00 (Canada and Mexico, add $0.50 a year). Other countries: one year, $10.50; 2 years, $20.00; 3 years $29.50.

Second-class postage paid at Santa Barbara, California, and at additional mailing offices

Display advertising is available. Before sending copy it is best to write to the Business Manager for a rate card. Send your inquiry to Box 5843, Santa Monica, Ca 90405.

The publisher does not necessarily endorse without reservation the products and services advertised here and does not necessarily agree with the ideas expressed in signed articles

Artwork
Cover by James Garrison
Pages 4, 12, and 16 by Louise Price
Page 14 by Cressida Smithee
Page 20 by Jerry White

Copyright © 1972
by Reason Enterprises

contents

The Public Interest — Fact or Fraud?
Tibor R. Machan 4

Poems
Wendy McElroy 11

Fable of a Fatty
Gilbert Geis 12

The Idea of a Libertarian Party
Michael E. Holmes 16

Poem
Barbara L. Carpenter 19

Directory of Free-Market Economics
Rod Manis 20

Reader Questionnaire 23

Foreign Correspondent 25

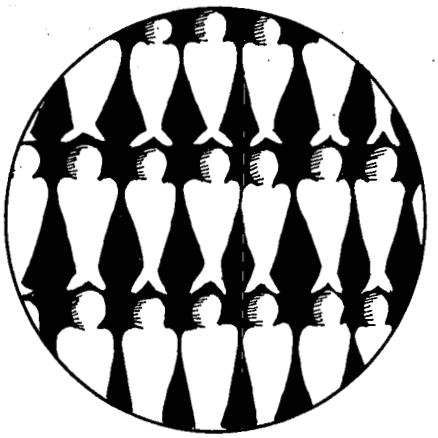
Trends 30

Publisher's Notes 31

Letters 32

Classifieds 33

Editor:	Robert Poole, Jr.
Associate Editors:	Manuel Klausner
	Tibor Machan
Managing Editor:	Marilynn Walther
Contributing Editors:	Mark Frazier
	Lanny Friedlander
	Rod Manis
Investment Columnist:	Alastair MacLeary
Business Manager:	James Weigl
Circulation Manager:	Lynn Kinsky
Financial Consultant:	Henry Hohenstein



the public interest — fact or fraud?

tibor r machan

Political philosophy is sometimes thought to be either prescriptive or descriptive. This distinction has its origins in certain epistemological models, specifically the idea that there is a fundamental difference between statements which convey factual information and those which convey evaluations. The former can be supported by evidence and logic, while the latter are supposed to be incapable of such support.

Though I do not accept this dichotomy, and lately a number of philosophers have given powerful arguments in support of drastic rethinking of this traditional division, I shall not belabor the issue. I want to deal with a political concept which is often used as if it had no evaluative import; without prejudicing the inquiry, therefore, I shall simply look at the various senses of the concept and in the course of this investigation whatever develops concerning the applicability of the fact/value dichotomy to the concept in question will speak for itself.

COMMON GOOD

A central feature of Western political theory has been the concern with the notion of the "common good." The idea is conveyed as well (or ill) by the phrases "collective good," "social good," "public good," "public interest," "national interest," etc. What lies at the root of all of these is the belief that it is possible to make sense of the idea that there are values or goods which benefit the whole of society, humanity, the public, the race, the community, etc. That the idea cannot be made ***more*** sense of at this point of the paper should itself justify the attempt to undertake an analysis of it. Were it possible to offer a simple explication of it, there would surely be no need for the discussion.

It is commonly believed that there can be and are genuine conflicts between what is of value, good, or right for individuals and what is the collective (etc.) good. There is, of course, little agreement as to the precise sense of "good", "value," and "right" in the contexts relevant to our discussion. Yet people do use these terms continually; moreover, it is not as if people used them in situations where they have no practical, real significance. Major political decisions, legal reforms, diplomatic activities are justified, explained, and promoted by their employment. In political contexts these terms are very often used in such a fashion that we get as a result frequent references to the "collective good" and its variants. At issue in this paper is whether such reference can have any sense at all, whether it is ever meaningful to make use of the idea of the "collective good" (etc.)

Some very ordinary, if not very clear, instances of the idea under discussion occur in the following expressions:

1. Every statesman has the duty to preserve the public good.
2. Sometimes the common good requires that the private interests of people be sacrificed.
3. Government exists in order to secure (through its various features, e.g., courts, militia, regulatory agencies, powers, etc.) at all cost the good of the society.

Tibor R. Machan is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at California State College at Bakersfield. Dr. Machan is an associate editor of REASON.

4. This governmental agency is designed to secure the public interest, necessity, and convenience.
5. Censorship works against (or for) the common good.
6. Water and air pollution are detrimental to the public good.
7. In times of national emergency the rights of individual citizens must be sacrificed for the benefit of the society, for the common welfare.
8. Political liberty is a common good.

There are many more statements with essentially the same content ***and*** intent which could be listed. Some of those above may seem odd in their present form but this is due, primarily, to the absence of the usual context within which references to the common good occur. In offering examples of expressions of any type it is always useful to remember that they occur within highly complex contexts in the main and stand on their own very infrequently. I have tried to provide examples which are familiar enough so that an appropriate context for them is easily imagined.

The purpose of examples in discussions such as the present is to investigate if there is anything that is central to whatever is at least nominally indentical in each case before us. In all the above cases the idea of the "collective good" occurs in one of its synonyms. (This may appear to be a hasty assertion, inasmuch as by calling some notions "synonyms" for others we may be prejudicing our discussion. I trust, however, that the expressions I have cited are generally recognized as having essentially the same ***usage*** within the language of politics, at least. This, of course, does not necessarily tell us if the usage itself is consistent or wise.) By taking the examples in turn, I hope to discover what is intended by their employment within the contexts where they most frequently occur.

STATESMEN

If every statesman has the duty to preserve the public good, presumably every statesman must ***know*** what the public good is. What could the public good be which a statesman could, in fact, preserve? It would have to be something that is good for the public, something from which benefit would accrue to ***everyone***. Before we can tell if a statesman is indeed preserving the public good, we would have to know what could satisfy this requirement. What could possibly benefit everyone? Is there anything that is to everyone's benefit?

If we take as an example certain legislative measures that a statesman might support, the question arises what kind of measure could be of benefit to everyone. Unless we think that "the public" transcends every***one***, we are faced with the responsibility of having to determine what, if anything, can be of actual benefit to every person in a political society. This would involve us in an investigation of what could constitute a benefit to everyone. We know that citizens of a country differ in many respects; we also know that to the degree that they differ the benefits to each will also differ. We must, therefore, ask if there is anything that is universally possessed by the citizens of a country, any respect in which everyone is the same, in order

to determine if there can be anything which can benefit all people. Only once we have determined that there is such a thing, can we rest assured that the claim that the statesman must preserve the public good is meaningful and, therefore, useful in conveying to us something about what statesmen are supposed to be doing. At this point I shall not discuss whether there is, in fact, something which is to everyone's benefit; I want merely to point up the necessity of utmost care in considering the sort of claim under investigation.

SACRIFICE?

In the next example we are told that the common good sometimes requires disregarding or sacrificing the private interests of people. In this example we encounter a difficulty which the previous one does not pose for us. It appears that there can be a dichotomy between the interest or good of the public and that of some members of the public. Can we accept this implication of the statement? In order to find out we must have some specific suggestions to look at. One such case might be where a highway is designed "to serve the public," but its construction is hampered by the fact that some private citizen happens to own a piece of land which lies just where the highway could best serve the desired purpose. This case is not unlike that covered in law under the heading of "eminent domain." Are we confronted with a genuine case of public versus private interest?

In one sense the idea of "public interest" in the present example is markedly different from the first. Where the statesman had a duty to preserve the public good, namely the good of everyone who makes up the public—by stipulation, at least—here we have definitely excluded the owner of the land (which blocks the highway) from membership in the public. That is, unless we want to argue that though the individual does not want to leave his land (on the terms set by "the public" via its representatives), his ***real*** interest lies in giving in to the conditions put to him. If we want to argue this line, we commit ourselves to having to demonstrate that the highway will in fact benefit our stubborn occupant over and above any benefit which he may get from staying put. To demonstrate this, we would once again have to involve ourselves in a determination of what is or is not of benefit to some particular person. That would not be a simple task inasmuch as what we would have to do is to judge ***for this person*** the kind of life he ought to lead. If he is deeply attached to his land, or if he puts a value on it which goes beyond the price we want to pay for it (price being the expression of monetary value), etc., our claim that he benefits more from the highway than from pursuing his own goals would require much argument. But even here the question arises if knowing that something is of benefit to someone entitles us to ***impose*** the benefit on him.

But the example specifies that the public good goes contrary to the private, in which case talking about the benefit which accrues to the stubborn landowner simply does not concern us. What remains amounts to the following: the public has become "the public" ***minus one person***, namely the private citizen who finds himself in opposition to the goals of ***the rest of*** the public. The statement under investigation really hides the central problem, namely, that there is a conflict between the interests of ***everyone except the stubborn citizen*** and the stubborn citizen himself. In brief, the interests of some people conflict with those of others.

Here again we have not gotten entirely clear on the matter. We have still to ask whether we mean by "interest" anything which is in fact good for some people or, instead, anything that some people desire. If we accept that the stubborn homeowner has a true interest in keeping his home, can we also accept that others have a true interest in depriving him of it? The issue is not whether others have an interest simply in acquiring the land—if that ***is*** all that were at stake, the case would be simple: others could buy the land from the owner. There is no conflict between the interests of buyers and sellers. In fact, they have mutual interests whenever they exchange goods (e.g., money for land); the one has an interest in or will benefit from what he gains, and so will the other. (Of course, they may make a ***mistake*** about whether they do in fact benefit from the exchange. But this is not at issue here.) What the general claim alleges is that the interest of the private citizen can be sacrificed for the public good; but in fact what the example shows is that the term "the public" simply hides from us the fact that what is being talked about is the sacrifice of the interest of one person to the interest of other persons. The public, since it includes all persons, cannot be involved in such conflicts.

Of course the term "the public" and its synonyms are often used to hide this fact. If we were precise about matters, we would have to change our general claim to read: Sometimes the desires, wishes, goals, purposes, etc. of a certain segment of the public conflict with those of another. This, in turn, pushes us to consider whether or not thereby anything follows as regards what may or may not be done about ***that***. Why is ***this*** a reason for anything like the democratic power of eminent domain? What grounds exist for favoring the majority in such cases? By what right, it may be inquired, do people who find themselves in large company impose their wishes on those who are either alone or find themselves in smaller company? There does not seem to be any good reason for supposing that there is any such

right—though everything suggests, of course, that such imposition does occur.

GOVERNMENT FOR GOOD

But let's turn to our next example wherein we learn that government exists to secure at all cost the good of society. We can deal with this very briefly inasmuch as the case is like that which concerned the statesman. To determine what the government exists for requires the knowledge of what the good of society happens to be. And unless we want a sense of "society" which really amounts to "the majority" or "those with wisdom" and the like, the "good of society" can mean only "that which is good for every member of society."

G. AGENCIES

The same holds true for our next example where instead of government we are concerned with a given governmental agency. What is obviously different here is that a governmental agency is commonly designed to concern itself with some specific matters, such as the regulation of interstate commerce, foods and drugs, the electromagnetic spectrum, and so forth. And obviously the regulation of these areas of activity cannot involve regard for the public at large since not everyone must have an interest in these areas. Yet, of course, everyone's interest must be served if we read the imperative correctly—not to mention that everyone has to finance the regulation. It would appear, then, that here again the expression "to secure the public interest, etc.," hides from us the fact that what is in fact being secured is the interests or wants of some people. This, in turn, would require justification in its own right; but by referring to "the public interest" the need for special justification is evaded. Not only is it not possible to understand by the phrase a reference to everyone, but even reference to the majority is missing. For it is rare, indeed, to find a governmental agency which serves the interest of most of the people. Mostly the interests of a certain industry or group are being served, while most of the people must finance the service being provided.

CENSORSHIP

Can we make more sense of the claim that censorship works against or for the common good? It would appear that here the "common good" is intended to refer to some kind of overall condition of harm or benefit which supposedly affects everyone in society. But that is precisely to beg the issue: if a book is forcibly kept off the market, it is not clear if other than a few people, including the author, publisher, and potential readers, suffer as a result. Yet some want to argue that in the case of certain kinds of books (or other means of communication) the harm or benefit which could accrue goes far beyond the persons who come in direct contact with the work. League of Decency groups commonly claim that the "moral fiber" of society deteriorates when certain works are permitted to circulate. Others make the claim that unless certain works (such as TV programs aired on educational networks) are put on the market, the society will suffer "cultural damage."

All such allegations amount to very little in terms of precise substance. Is it necessarily the case that someone's reading a pornographic book will ***produce*** harm either for him or someone else? Even if it does produce harm for some people—just as eating applie pie ***can*** produce harm for people who should be dieting—has this anything to do with the common good? It would seem far more accurate to claim that censorship harms some people actually and anyone potentially, and argue for this by reference to what are the implications of permitting any group of people to decide what may or may not be read; for instance, censorship could keep out of circulation important discoveries, literary masterpieces, political wisdom, etc.; it can also produce a general sense of fear on the part of those who write, or otherwise engage in creative work, and induce some people to be less than candid about issues which could be construed as offensive to censoring bodies, etc. The common good more often obscures the issue than clarifies it: censorship results in very personal tragedies mostly and can conveniently be ignored by the bulk of society.

POLLUTION

Pollution, of course, is detrimental to those who are themselves not polluting but must pay for it. In Arizona it is not likely that Lake Erie's pollution matters very much, although in some measure everyone could be affected by pollution. The very fact that pollution is universal, in the sense of being a by-product of consumption, renders this claim plausible at once. But here again talk about the "public good" obliterates the real issue: whose pollution and at what cost? Clearly some ***people*** actually benefit tremendously by some kinds of pollution; for example, sanitation workers would not be overjoyed if garbage ceased altogether. Neither would the many companies which are involved in producing anti-pollution machinery. Nor, finally, would be the ordinary citizen who simply pollutes—but does so as a result of having benefitted greatly from certain kinds of consumption. Needless to say, reference to the public good obscures the important question of the pollution problem, namely, what kind of pollution is appropriate for what area of the country at what expense and who should pay for its elimination when it is unwanted and why? Of course, put in such form the question becomes both

a difficult ***and*** answerable one: it imposes on us not only the responsibility to answer it but also the knowledge that we could answer it. By hiding the matter behind a reference to public good or harm, it is an easy matter to ignore the problem entirely with the very good excuse of "the public is everyone and no one." Reducing the problem to its managable proportions will require its management by some people, namely those who are polluting irresponsibly, that is, in a way whereby they harm other people directly or indirectly.

EMERGENCY

Does a national emergency require abridgement of individual rights in behalf of the public good? I believe that this is one of the more troublesome cases under consideration. This seems to be because the example presupposes the idea of "nationhood" whereby it becomes synonymous with "society". A national emergency is thus nothing more than an emergency affecting all members of society. The common welfare is identical to the welfare of the nation, of the society. And we must really try to get clear on what these could mean before we accept the meaningfulness of the phrase "national emergency."

Emergencies are usually cases where something unexpected and dangerous occurs to someone. A community may experience an emergency situation stemming from climactic, flood, earthquake, or similar conditions; this simply means that those who reside in a certain area may all be endangered or actually harmed by what is happening. It is not very clear what rights people have in emergency conditions, since there are very different kinds of emergencies. Some totally dispose of any possible regard for human rights, since they involve virtually pre-civilized conditions. When the life conditions of people suddenly turn into the conditions to be found where no social organization could possibly exist, it becomes pointless to talk about respecting human rights. If we are confronted with conditions where the ordinary precautions involved in dealing with people are not open to us, there really cannot be any talk of such general principles as human rights; mostly people are on their own, fighting and scratching for the bare minimum of existence.

In other cases, such as organized massive aggression against the community by members of another community, there does not appear to be any conflict between what is good for the community and what is good for its members. Granted that to abstain from defending one's land may involve someone in a situation where he becomes a free rider, inasmuch as the self-defense of another or the rest could serve to repel the aggression that could have hurt him, this is not entirely unique to emergency cases. Presuming that people have an interest in self-defense, and presuming that, as with insurance, they will recognize the value of planning ahead as much as it is possible, there is no special reason to assume that, left to their cooperative, non-coercive efforts, individual human beings would not realize that preparation for defense is a great value. The free rider problem is only a problem in terms of certain assumptions: namely that people do not know the problem itself. Whereas in fact if people know that the free rider problem exists and still want to be prepared, they will simply cope with it as a possible but not inevitable situation. Since the issue is whether preparation for emergency is valuable, the free rider issue does not really make that much difference. If too many people refrain from preparation, the society will most likely become rearranged so as to favor cooperation in behalf of preparation. (The famous "prisoner dilemma" can only obtain where people are ***obsessed*** with getting away with free riding; and such obsession is not to be considered a general human condition.)

Aside from some of the practical objections to this example, in response to the emotive content of "emergency" situations, there is, of course, the issue of what would justify imposing on someone a fight for something he refuses to fight for willingly? There does not appear to be any good reason for thinking that any person's judgement as to what benefits another entitles him to impose these beneficial conditions upon the other. Until such reasons are offered there is no need to offer a counter-thesis. The will of the majority argument begs the question of why ***that*** is any justification at all; the idea that an emergency somehow obliterates human rights has already been considered; so long as rights are ***observable***, so long as the legal conditions are

operative, no grounds for eliminating them seem to exist. Once the society has broken up and no legal framework exists, there is no ***general guideline*** concerning what may or may not go on between people. In emergency situations it becomes ever so important that each person be prepared to think quickly and adjust himself to the conditions in such a fashion that certain central features of civilized life be retained if possible. To presume that in emergency conditions people loose their sense of decency and humanity is to give up on people altogether; yet to expect them to be as capable of living in terms of the ethics which govern their lives under normal circumstances is to obscure the context entirely.

LIBERTY

Finally we are left with the suggestion that political liberty is a common or general good. In so far as political libertyis something which is a ***universal*** (***if*** it were to exist), it does seem to be common to all those within a social organization or community. Political liberty is the absence of interference with one's efforts to lead one's life ***in peace***. It is not being free of interference when one is himself attacking others or otherwise violating their human rights to life, liberty, and property. Thus the claim really amounts to holding up freedom from aggression as something that is of value, benefit, and interest to every person, even to one who would rather not enjoy it. For a person who prefers slavery can always hire himself out to people almost surely (though, of course, not irrevocably). His freedom to subjugate himself to virtual serfdom cannot be denied. He cannot, of course, force himself on another person. But, then, no one is claiming that political liberty is recognized as a universal, common, collective good; if it were so, the political systems through the world would be very different. The point is simply that, ***in fact***, the appropriate condition of social existence is political liberty: it is something which can be secured for ***everyone*** without discrimination and ***all*** people have an implicit stake in it for purposes of running their lives. While bread and butter, or Cadillacs, golf courses, or men's clubs are not good for everybody—since not all people are interested in them or talented or situated so as to make use of them—political liberty is the condition which permits each member of society to pursue his own interests to the best of his skill and ability. Political liberty is a real possibility because people can refrain from interfering with another's life. It is the fact that people are ultimately free to choose their way of living (within physical limits) that makes political liberty more than just an empty issue. It makes possible when legally instituted, the flourishing of each man as a self-responsible being; this in turn renders it of value to everyone without exception.

If we now return to our examples of the statesman and the government, we may make more sense of the suggestion that each is responsible to secure or preserve the public good; since political liberty is the only true universal public, common, or collective good, one which makes the pursuance of individual goals, purposes, or goods possible, those who are in the service of a community or the public are dutybound to provide everyone with it.

At this point it may be suggested that I have grossly restricted the sense in which such notions as "the public good," etc., may be employed. Surely, it might be proposed, all the various uses of these notions cannot be ***so*** incorrect. Surely there must be something to the way these terms occur in common political parlance.

In order to examine this suggestion before we conclude that all senses of these notions which go beyond the meaning I have allowed for them are mistaken or sloppy, I will examine a few suggested interpretations for them. What could the term "the common good" mean? The following may be considered candidates:

a) That which is wanted by most of the people.
b) That which experts believe people ought to have or do.
c) That which the ideology of a given political system dictates.
d) That which God has decreed through his messengers.
e) The good which is thought to befall society when conceived of as an organic whole.

Some of these we have come across already in the previous discussion but it may be worth examining

them here again.

Surely what most people want could very easily be not only bad for some members of society but also be bad for all of them. Just wanting things does not even indicate their value or worth, excepting perhaps economically.

What experts prescribe is very often of immense benefit but there is no reason to suppose that there can be experts concerning what anyone should do with ***his*** life. Obviously once one has decided that he likes architecture or boxing or philosophy, there are experts who can advise him and direct him toward the development of his skills. But it is absurd to suppose that there can be experts about the sort of life people should live in general, except perhaps in the most general way in which ***everyone*** can be an "expert:" live well, be good at your skills, don't bother anyone in his own pursuits, help those who deserve it, etc. For this no expertise is required or can be secured. So there simply cannot be experts in deciding what people ought to have or do — or, to put it better, how each person ***ought to live*** his life he is entirely well-equipped to decide. (Which is one reason why political liberty is a ***common*** good.) This does not exclude the possibility of experts in psychology, education, or even political science, provided no expert judgement as to what ***goals*** people ought to pursue is expected from any of them.

As to whether the ideology of a given political system can tell us what the public or common good is depends very much on what the ideology is. Clearly the notion is too general to be of much help. Ideologies differ, and some propose sound judgements, others very bad ones. To assess the suggestion here would require examples. Inasmuch as any political theory can be construed as an ideology if it is in any way suggestive—i.e., if it has practical implications—the present discussion could be construed as ideological. As such, surely it would be pointless to deny that this ideology entertains a notion of the "common good" which may or may not underlie some political system in the future. And the meaning of "common good" in terms of the present ideology or framework has already been offered, namely whatever can be shown to be in fact good for every person of a community, that is, political liberty. In so far as any ideology denies this, it cannot propose a viable account of the common good without involving itself in the difficulties I have been discussing throughout this paper.

Of course decrees of God come in many forms and in the final analysis it is not obvious why one should accept one version as opposed to another, why one should listen to this messenger instead of that one. The difficulty of making out God's will or message, and of making out what it would be to know these, including what God itself is, appear to me to be so severe that counting on an understanding of the concept of the "common good" by reference to this suggestion seems altogether futile.

Finally we come to the suggestion, briefly discussed earlier in this essay, that the common good is really something which must be understood by reference to a certain theory of society, namely the theory which holds that society itself has an identify which transcends the identity of its members, that society is an organic whole whose members comprise it but do not exhaust its nature; those who have held this view have gone so far as to argue for the ***literal*** validity of such concepts as "social consciousness," "common or general will," "national purpose," etc., ones which ascribe to society or humanity or to the community various person-like features. Unfortunately there is no evidence that any of the things which make consciousness, will, purposiveness, etc., possible are actually to be found in society (over and above the individual human organisms which make such things possible for each human being). How could society have a brain? How could it have feelings of sorrow or pride without the characteristics of the human organism which make such feelings possible? How could society think and have purposes if it had no means by which to learn language, to express itself, to give vent to its nature ***in the way people do***?

Theories which make more out of society than what it is have given rise to some of the most horrible conditions for mankind and will probably continue to do so in the future. The illusion that a man is more than what he is, an individual, is very comfortable for some people, especially those who like to forego their self-responsibilities in favor of collective pride, those who like being members of a

race to which famous people belonged instead of the people they really are; some desire to be part of social historical movements; others hide behind the anonymity of committees and political parties; still others find it more convenient to identify themselves with "the public" so when they ask for special privileges, that political authorities are in a position to hand out, they would not be required to offer reasons of their ***own***. The familiar editorial "we" and the more and more common reference to collective guilt in connection with the ecological situation point to how useful (!) the notions I have been examing in this paper can be for certain people's purposes. Of course, in many cases it is sheer carelessness which leads to using these notions in the ways discussed above. Sometimes, however, it is not unreasonable to suspect that misuse stems from ill design. With those who use these notions most frequently, people who aim to acquire political power, this suspicion seems justified.

The present paper was meant to provide a brief investigation of the various senses in which the notion of the "collective good" and its synonyms occur in some familiar political contexts. It may be concluded that in the only useful sense identified herein very few political leaders seem to employ the concepts under discussion. The investigation has other dimensions, of course; hopefully what has been said here will provoke further discussion. ◻

This article originally appeared in the JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS *under the title "Some Considerations of the Common Good" and is reprinted here by permission.*

TO DISCOVER TRUTH

A shining king,
With his future to sing
Set forth to discover truth.
"I hunt the dawn!"
He called and was gone
To journey with galloping youth.

Far, far did he roam
With wind at his bones,
Until one dusk in his path,
Like a silent pillar
Of cheerless winter,
There stood the exile Death.

"Not yet! I have time.
Years are still mine . . ."
His voice fell dry of breath.
As if to reply,
With an age-worn sigh,
Extended the hand of Death.

"Your life could have been
Of laughter and dreams."
Spoke dispassionate Death.
"Oh fool, don't you know
— wherever you go —
Within yourself is your truth."

THE WRECKAGE

The old man sat:
Thumbing through memories
Proving he'd lived;
Whispering to himself.
(words dropped to the grass like ashes);
Clutching at yesterdays,
at leaves in a storm
shriveling as they're blown
away.

He sat — a broken toy
puppet-limp and wooden.

But rain ripped thru grass
Crying like shredded satin —
Crying: "Hurry! Hurry!
There is yet somewhere to go."

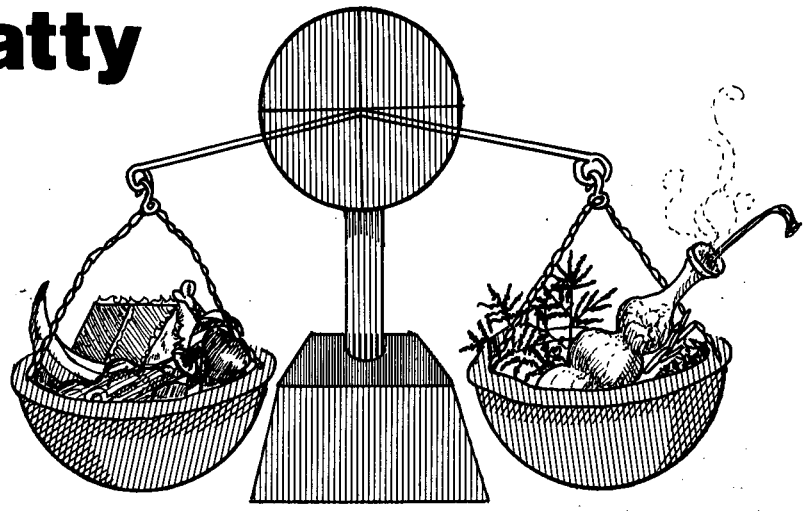
NAKED TO THE SUN

At times, stretched naked thru the grass,
. . . taut and trembling to the sun;
my fingers gripping clean, moist earth,
my hair loose, taunting each breeze—
at times,
being able to breath . . . is enough.

Wendy McElroy

fable of a fatty

gilbert geis



With apologies
to Jonathan Swift
and his "A Tale of a Tub."

I have studiously attended to the debates between those who would permit—nay, even encourage—the promiscuous use of pharmaceutical agents such as marihuana and LSD throughout the social order and those of us who demand that all Americans face up to their decent responsibility to live cleanly, with neither their bodies nor their minds contaminated by artificial exhilarants. The recent public pronouncement by the director of the Food and Drug Administration that he would as soon have his daughter smoke *cannabis sativa* ("pot") as drink ethyl hydroxide ("booze")—the one legally proscribed, the other, however meretricious, legally sanctioned—only underscores the imperative necessity to outlaw equivalently all forms of self-indulgent and intolerable behavior. Fairness and justice demand no less.

To this end, I am proposing that a new criminal offense be created during the next sessions of the state legislatures and the federal Congress. The new crime will be *overweightedness*, and it shall be divided into two classes—first-degree obesity and second-degree obesity.

Unlike the narcotic laws, enforcement of the obesity statutes should provide only a minimum number of difficulties. The offender will carry his offense with him, as it were, and he cannot expeditiously shed the telltale signs of his culpability in the manner that the narcotic addict flushes away his heroin or disposes of his hypodermic needle.

The degrees of the crime of obesity will also readily yield to precise determination. Persons 10 to 20% over the normal weight for their height and sex will be guilty of the crime in the second degree. Those 20% or more above that weight maintained by normal, lawabiding citizens will be guilty of obesity in the first degree. Juries, if they wish, may regard such factors as bone structure and metabolism rate as mitigating circumstances when they come to recommend dispositions. Certainly factors of temptation, such as those relating to notorious proximity to products of great culinary skill, should provide no legally-acceptable excuse for violation. As Justice Holmes once sagely observed: "Laws do not merely require that every man should get as near as he can to the best conduct possible for him. They require him at his own peril to come up to a certain height. They take no account of incapacities, unless the weakness is so marked as to fall into the well-known exceptions, such as infancy and madness."

Nevertheless, traditional legal standards of *mens rea*, requiring a guilty mind and a culpable intent, must be scrupulously observed. Normally, it may be assumed that the criminal intent inheres in consequences that reasonable persons might ordinarily anticipate. He or she who consumes items of high caloric content, without compensating energy output, should appreciate that sooner or later the limits of legal tolerance will be transgressed. On

Gilbert Geis is a visiting professor in the program of social ecology at University of California, Irvine. He is the author of several books and edited White-Collar Criminal, *published by Atherton Press in 1968.*

occasion, however, an accused may be able to demonstrate satisfactorily that coercion or duress—say a form of force-feeding—precipitated the violation. It is not beyond belief that the intravenous introduction of food substances into an unconscious or otherwise helpless person could adequately excuse the violation. Care should be exercised, however, to see that the defense of irresistible impulse is not abused. It has been wisely noted that no impulse is apt to go unresisted if a policeman is standing behind the potential offender. In addition, morphine addicts clearly are preempted from effectively allegating that prior medical experience with the drug created an overwhelming impulse to repeat the experience. The same may be said about fortuitous introduction to cheese cake, mashed potatoes, and similar items, all of which, it might be noted, are lethal if taken in overdoses. From the viewpoint of law students, it may be hoped that a benign history will protect them from a case in which an offense of first-degree obesity is the product of cannibalism, committed on a raft afoat on the high seas by men in fear of imminent death unless they ingest one of their fellows. Of cases such as this it is truly said, "hard cases make bad law."

The preeminent necessity for new legislation outlawing obesity is so self-evident that it hardly needs detailed exposition. It has been clearly shown that the overweight person represents a serious health threat, with a potentially shortened life span. The crime may seemingly be one without a "real" victim, but all of us are the victims of the overweight man or woman who prematurely deprives us of his company and his talents, not to mention his taxes. Overweightedness is a crime of epidemic proportions, its perpetrators characteristically are persons of deceptive conviviality who assiduously inveigh into their ranks the unwary through blandishments of quick, irresponsible pleasure. Families suffer from overweight members just as surely as they suffer from members who are gamblers, adulterers, or narcotic addicts. There is the terrible tension of the supper table, all persons intent upon seeing whether the offender has learned to control his habit or whether he is slipping irretrievably into recidivism.

National considerations amply support the call for creation of the new criminal offense and forceful federal and state action against those violators undercutting the virility and vitality of the Nation. Obese persons detract from the war effort. They tend to be sluggish, to indulge in self-satisfied after-meal naps, and more passive pursuits. Research indicates that the obese spend approximately four% more time at each meal than normal individuals—a finding which, if multiplied out, provides a staggering loss of constructive investment of time and energy. The obese are readily diverted from a task at hand by the nearness of times set aside for food ingestion. Their habits make them particularly vulnerable to enemy blackmail, since they demonstrably lack the will-power and internal strength necessary for self-control so that, tortured by promises of surcease, they will, if permitted to gain positions of trust, divulge those secrets vital to the preservation of our free society.

It is perhaps not altogether necessary to take cognizance of reports, most of which have not as yet been fully de-classified, that foreign powers may stand behind the flood of high caloric poisons entering our cities and sapping the strength of youth and adult alike. We would urge the creation of a new agency to work alongside the United States Customs Service and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, an agency which would be charged with surveillance of imports; among other items, Israeli halvah, Swiss chocolate, and Italian spaghetti must be turned aside at the borders, and all conceivable efforts must be undertaken to see that a flourishing underworld traffic in these and similar items does not become established. It goes without saying that it will take the concerted efforts of all federal and local authorities to see that spaghetti, in particular, is kept under tight control, for organizations already exist with a special expertise in the handling of such noxious substances.

Standard police practices should prove adequate for apprehending most food addicts. A core of informers will obviously come forward to help identify and ferret out those violators who secrete themselves rather than submit to the procedures society will set up for its own protection. Such informers may reasonably be rewarded by being allowed a certain leeway in their own weight, perhaps a percent or two, and they might on occasion be permitted to keep goods that form part of the underworld commerce in black-market food. A newly-created internal cadre of enforcement agents, called the S.S. (for Supermarket Surveillance), could monitor grocery outlets and confectionery stores, places where there is the greatest likelihood of criminal activity occurring.

It may be anticipated that the courts will come to declare that obesity is not really a crime, and that imprisonment of obese persons is violative of the eighth amendment stipulation concerning "cruel and

unusual punishment." Precedent exists in the case of narcotics for such a stand. In the *Robinson* case, Justice Stewart noted that "A state might determine that the general health and welfare required that the victims of these and other human afflictions be dealt with by compulsory treatment, involving quarantine, confinement, or sequestration. But, in the light of the contemporary human knowledge, a law which made a criminal offense of such a disease would doubtless be universally thought to be an infliction of cruel and unusual punishment."

There is always the possibility that the minority opinion in *Robinson* might come to prevail in the manner that dissenting views have so often in Supreme Court history proven over the course of time to be superior to transient responses to immediate problems. The minority stand of Justice Clark is clearly applicable to the obese: "Even if interpreted as penal," Clark said, "the sanction of incarceration for three to 12 months is not unreasonable when applied to a person who has voluntarily placed himself in a condition posing a serious threat to the state."

If the courts are determined to declare obesity a "sickness" rather than a crime, the legislative response is clear. Civil commitment programs can be established at once to treat the obese. Since craving for illegal nourishment is one of the obvious characteristics of this type of offender, it will be necessary for the civil commitment hospitals to be fenced, preferably with barbed wire, and carefully guarded. Commitment to the program will follow the testimony of two duly-registered physicians that the felon is indeed beyond the tolerable weight. The accused may, of course, cross-examine all witnesses, and scrupulous care will be taken to see that he is not deprived of this or other of his inalienable rights under the constitution.

Once institutionalized, the patient will at once be detoxified; that is, various dietic substances will be given to him in place of his habitual fare. This therapeutic regime will be supplemented by intensive group therapy, which will concentrate upon intrapsychic conditions which have led to the failure to control his emotional dependence. Studies already point to the fact that oedipal complexities, sibling rivalry, oral and anal fixations—particularly these—as well as similar aberrant syndromes are typical of the obese when contrasted to a normal sample of the American population.

It is hardly to be expected that efforts to enact the necessary legislation will go unopposed. But it seems evident that there exists a widespread foundation from which support may be expected. Theological doctrines have traditionally inveighed against self-indulgence and over-indulgence. Military authorities, beleaguered by the Vietnam campaign, can be expected to see in the new law a return to those fundamental principles which will revitalize our fighting capacities. Opposition may be expected to arise from diverse sources, and to be sizeable. It will undoubtedly have the support of our enemies abroad, who desire to undermine our resolution.

Given the obvious good sense of the law, however, there should be only a slim chance of its defeat. The experience and the depth of conviction of those forces behind the present narcotic laws, all of which will undoubtedly be in the forefront of the new campaign, should be more than enough to assure early success. ◻

.....

This article originally appeared in the Spring, 1968 (Vol. 3, No. 2), issue of ISSUES IN CRIMINOLOGY, *published at the School of Criminology of the University of California at Berkeley and is reprinted here by permission.*

.....

The 1972 LIBERTARIAN YEARBOOK *with pictures!*

Surpasses all so-called competition. Only $3.95. Only 1,000 printed. Get yours now. Satisfaction guaranteed. Open Campus Publications, 6452 Woodley, Van Nuys Calif. 91406

No. 1 underground financial institution

AGORAfund

Isn't one of these investments best for you?

10% SAVINGS ACCOUNT

Your money earns a solid 10% per annum without risk. You may open an account with as little as $100, and may add to the account in units of $25 thereafter.

NON-VOTING CERTIFICATES

Agorafund certificates have appreciated from $10 to $25 each in the last 4 months. Add the current dividend rate is 10% per annum (which is 25% for those who purchased certificates at $10 each). Since your money is invested in several libertarian businesses, you get the greatest possible growth potential with greatest security than with any "statist" investment. Sold in units of 10 certificates — currently $25 per certificate.

Contact us for information on monthly investment programs, options (greater risk with greater potential), estate transfer services, how we might finance your ventures, or "profiteering with cars" (the ultimate part-time job).

We are underground for your total protection. Address: Mark Brady, 6 Raglan Rd., Frinton-on-Sea, Essex, England C013 8HH. Payments to: Richard Myers. Include your phone number!

Continued from page 22.

Armen A. Alchian, "Private Property and the Relative Cost of Tenure," in Philip D. Bradley, ed., *THE PUBLIC STAKE IN UNION POWER* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1959).

C. SOCIALIST ECONOMICS

G. Warren Nutter, "The Structure and Growth of Soviet Industry: A A Comparison with the United States," *JL&E*, Vol. II (1959), p. 147.

Valentin Chu, *TA TA, TAN TAN*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1963).

For an excellent summary of the book see his "The Famine Makers—A Report on Why Red China is Starving," *U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT* (9 July 1962), pp. 64-7.

Friedrich A. von Hayek, ed., *COLLECTIVIST ECONOMIC PLANNING* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).

Eugen von Boehm-Bawerk, *KARL MARX AND THE CLOSE OF HIS SYSTEM* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1949).

Refutes Marx's labor theory.

D. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOREIGN AID

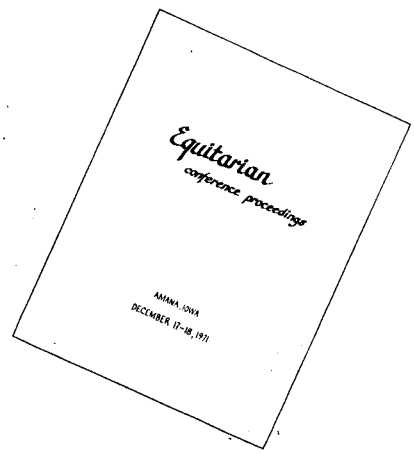
Milton Friedman, "Foreign Economic Aid: Means and Objectives," *YALE REVIEW* (Summer 1958).

Ronald I. McKinnon and Edward S. Shaw, *MONEY, FOREIGN TRADE AND TAXATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES* (Oxford University Press).

Shows that the faulty internal policies of the governments of underdeveloped countries restrain economic growth.

EQUITARIAN CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Equitarian Associates announce publication of the proceedings of their Sixth Conference held in December, 1971. This 120 page, soft-cover publication contains eight of the papers presented during the two-day conference.



GENERAL SESSION

The 'KOG' Principle
The 'G-String' Fallacy
Pragmatism: Business as Usual
Self Esteem and the Child

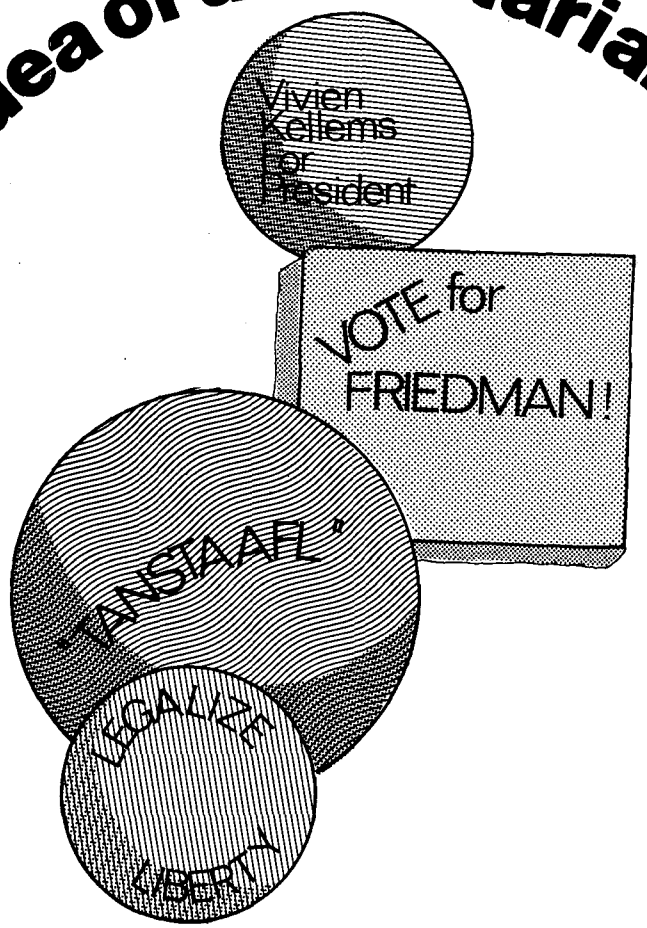
TECHNICAL SESSION

Causality and Responsibility
Property and Responsibility
The Mathematics of Justice
Aristotle's Law of Contradiction

This quality publication is available for $5.50 from Equitarian Press, Box 948b, Iowa City, Iowa 52240. Please enclose payment and note the conference date -- December, 1971.

ORDER NOW and find out what's happening...!

the idea of a libertarian party



michael e holmes

Libertarians, with their basic commitment to voluntary social interaction, by nature find politics and the political process unpalatable at best and dangerous at worst. Sincerely hoping to live in a world with greater human freedom, they are faced with the enormous problem of radically changing the present collectivistic and antihuman socio-intellectual climate.

As one of the ways by which to bring about a libertarian society, now various groups of libertarians are working in the traditionally accepted area of social change—politics. The **Libertarian Party** and the New Jersey-based **Citizens for a Restructured Republic** are perhaps the best known of these groups. However, all of them face several problems. Among the most important is the problem that, since libertarianism is fundamentally antipolitical, its political activity will have to be limited to what may be called "the politics of the antipolitical." Additionally, many libertarians have come to their present position after leaving the sterile contemporary political arena and pseudopolitical groups such as YAF which served merely to stifle their initiative and blunt their libertarian sentiments.

ANTI POLITICS

Criticism of libertarian political activity has come from many quarters, most recently from Don Ernsberger, director of the Society for Individual Liberty (see *SIL News*, December 1971). Some of the arguments he advanced were a) political changes stem from socio-intellectual change, not vice versa; b) political activities attract only superficial supporters; c) education via party politics doesn't work; and d) the basic premises of party politics—compromise and consensus—are repugnant to libertarian principles.

Michael E. Holmes is an economics and philosophy major at Rice University. He is currently associated with HARD CORE NEWS *and the Center for Libertarian Studies in Houston.*

While such objections have validity, the emergence of a Libertarian Party and libertarian political influence is nevertheless desirable as part of a multilevel strategy for rational education and change. These methods can readily be used to affect social change without basically abandoning libertarian values.

It should be made quite clear at the outset that the political front should be merely ***one*** of several areas of libertarian activity and education. The importance of direct action, resistance, avoidance, education, interest groups orientation, alternative institutions, and self-liberation need not be deemphasized nor neglected. In addition to such activities, however, it is virtually inevitable that libertarians take the initial concrete steps, both to depoliticize and liberate the individual, by travelling the historically and socially acceptable route of political action.

PRACTICAL ISSUES

Almost all the areas of immediate practical interest to individuals (such as tax reform and repeal, civil liberties reform, the elimination of "crimes" without victims, conscription, putting the economy back into the hands of a free market, isolationism, the loosening of control over public education, etc.) involve the legal and political process to a very high degree. While many people are working hard for such changes, some fail to realize that, in the end, it will be the statesmen, the judges, the lawyers, and to some extent the participants in the electoral process, who will actually make the reforms and repeals that libertarians desire. Without some kind of direct representation in the political sphere, libertarians will be compelled to rely on reluctant conservatives (e.g., Goldwater) or issue oriented liberals (e.g., Hatfield).

LIBERTARIAN TROUGH?

The idea is not that in the reasonably near future we will have libertarians in Congress, rather, that we can have an adequately vocal political party which is consistently pushing and publicizing libertarian ideology and programs. Politicians are noted for accomodating groups who pose significant threats to their continued place at the public trough; and the existence of a consistent party of principle might prove quite effective at presenting the libertarian alternatives in workable and acceptable forms to the public. Furthermore, the educational value of even having a "Libertarian Party" label on the ballot would probably evoke more curiosity as to what it stands for than would 1,000 literature tables on 1,000 campuses.

MAGNET

In addition to the general strategic advantages, working in the political sphere would serve as a tangible magnet for both energy and financial resources which could then be channelled in a socially acceptable manner and with some means of assessing the feedback. As perverted as it seems, it is far more palatable to hand the citizen some campaign literature about candidate Blatz with platform XYZ than to hand someone a pamphlet which explains the evils and perils of government. Because it ***is*** an institution of sorts, a political party can serve as an acceptable outlet for activism and an effective inlet for money. People feel more secure about donating time and money to a political party than to a free-floating philosophical group with erudite goals, esoteric ambitions that nobody understands, and radically new methods for attaining social change. A political party, with frequent local and national elections and publicity, can serve as a tolerable and effective tool for activism.

It should be stressed at this point that the primary purpose of a libertarian political party would ***not*** be to have libertarians elected into office, although that would be the ostensible goal. The present likelihood of such an occurrence on even a local level is minute. While actual political success should be welcomed when it does come about, the initial results of libertarian political activity would be primarily educational. With opportunity for "equal time" and public debate, the dissemination of a consistent set of libertarian proposals (such as is currently embodied in the temporary Libertarian Party platform) and the interaction with large numbers of people, the educational effect of such a major undertaking would be enormous. This point has not been lost on parties on the left, such as CPUSA, Peace & Freedom, or the Socialist Workers Party.

BUREAUCRACY

Worries about organizational bureaucracy and political opportunism are indeed areas of concern, especially in light of past experiences by many libertarians. However, since in the case of the Libertarian Party, all state and local parties will be completely autonomous, both organizationally and financially, the likelihood of bureaucratic misuse will be minimized. Also to be considered is the fact that initial efforts will be centered around such things as qualifying the party for the state ballot and raising filing fees and will probably involve fairly small groups of libertarians. It should also be stressed that libertarians who bear antagonisms against voluntary

types of organizations such as political parties are in effect contradicting their own principles, since, after all, it is voluntary organization that libertarians are trying to extend to all facets of society. If individualists cannot trust even their own voluntary organizational structures, the arguments in favor of voluntary societal organization will certainly seem hollow. In the final analysis, the virtue of voluntary organization lies ultimately in the fact that, should misuse occur, the individual can always quit and form new organizational forms. Many libertarians have already had this experience and it should function as an effective safeguard against any kind of libertarian political mismanagement.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM PATH

The idea, then, is not to "sweep the world" toward a libertarian philosophy; the idea is to focus enough attention on that philosophy to generate popular acceptance and public tolerance and thereby realize the merits of laissez faire. Politics is an effective tool in bringing about this idea. As a feminist associate of mine put it, "The success of the 'new' feminist movement (as opposed to the 'old' suffragists) lies in having attracted attention to and generated acceptance for their ideals. Those legal changes which have come about (equal rights amendment, repeal of abortion laws, etc.) are far overshadowed by the changes in women's view of themselves, of their roles in society, and of their relationship with men and other women. However much the traditional roles of housewife and mother may be defended by those women happy in them, their very defense brings about changes. In order to defend, you must examine; and examination itself modifies the situation. The virtue of feminist politicking has manifested itself in stimulating examination and questioning of roles and behavior previously accepted as inevitable. The role of housewife is no more inevitable than taxation. Obeying a man is no more acceptable than obeying a government. The effects of focusing on that which is taken for granted are far-reaching." If politics does nothing else, it at least serves to focus attention on human inequity and injustice, aids understanding, and, insofar as libertarians are concerned, may help to bring about a "hands off" attitude on the part of society.

RIGHT TIME?

Ernsberger's arguments against libertarian political activity seem unconvincing. The fact that political change reflects socio-intellectual change overlooks the very important fact that the socio-intellectual climate ***has*** changed to the extent that there is a small but growing segment of society which does accept basic libertarian principles and premises but who have no socially acceptable outlet through which to act. Since political change succeeds socio-intellectual change, a well planned initial political organization with consistent premises will be a major asset in channelling the changing socio-intellectual values into positive and practical action. To those who feel that it is "too early" to initiate a political front, it is tempting to ask, just ***when*** will the "correct time" be? What is the magic signal? When there are 100,000 libertarians? A million? If it is the individual that matters, why should the question be quantitative? Neither is the assumption that libertarian ideas are just beginning to permeate the intellectual strata of society a reason to delay building sound channels for positive change. The sooner working and established channels for political changes are ready, the easier it will be to begin practical reform and repeal when the intellectual tide has tangibly turned. Let's get ready for that tide ***now***.

If current political activity often attracts superficial followers it is only a reflection of the kind of intellectual foundations most of this country's political parties rest on. Prematurely to condemn libertarian political activity as being intellectually meaningless is to miss the point of initiating libertarian political activity. Is it not libertarians of the "educationalist" school who maintain that sound ideas are the best weapons against authoritarianism? If this is true, then a vocal combat in the political arena by means of campaign activities should accomplish nothing less than the complete intellectual destruction of the present rah-rah party politics.

LEFT ACTIONS

To maintain that the political arena is an ineffective place to conduct educational efforts is to misjudge both the nature of the political process and the intelligence of the authoritarian left. Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have long maintained small political parties primarily as convenient vehicles for their educational activities. Given the generally limited resources of these radical groups, one would be seriously underestimating the intelligence of these groups to maintain that they have been wasting their time by pushing their views through political activism. As sad as it is, it is true that for most Americans the major part of their political education with respect to social issues is obtained during the frequent political campaigns, both local and national.

There seems to be a natural distaste in general for politics and political issues, and with the exception of the very small number of people who actively engage in politics, most Americans never think about political issues except when they are assaulted with the rhetoric of campaign oratory and media

bombardment of campaign promises and platforms. To neglect this significant opportunity to reach large numbers of intelligent people at a time when they become most conscious of social and political issues would be a serious and unnecessary mistake. As part of a multi-level effort to put forth the libertarian message, let's not a priori neglect any important chances to do so.

INCOMPATIBILITIES?

Finally, to reject political activism on the basis that libertarian principles are incompatible with the basic nature of political activity is to admit ignorance about the purpose of libertarian political activism. The power politics of the major parties necessarily involves compromise and consensus because the object of these groups is to maximize their influence over national and local governments and, hence, the people of the United States. On the other hand, the explicit goals of libertarian political activity are antipolitical in nature. It is an attempt to use the political process to minimize the effects of that process. It may well be the case that the most effective means of limiting the scope of governmental interference with individual liberties will be the tactic of ***destruction from within*** the political process itself.

If one contends that libertarian political involvement will ultimately be antilibertarian in practice, it can only be said that such a position precludes the existence of any kind of libertarian society; i.e., no libertarian society is possible if libertarians cannot be trusted to stick by their principles. And if this view is taken, only some kind of external process—revolution or a mysterious "withering away" of the State—is possible to bring about libertarian change. But if one views change as a process of working within the generally accepted societal structures, as is likely to be the case in at least the near future, the choice becomes one of either building libertarian "political forces" or relying on the sympathies of other political forces. The former alternative is clearly preferable.

ROAD TO FREE SOCIETY

The method of moving society towards a more rational direction will have to occur on many levels and by many different means. The road to a free society is not a narrow one. To maintain that any particular way is the only way and that all other approaches are worthless is to maintain a rigid, dogmatic, and ultimately an antilibertarian attitude. While the use of the political process carries its own particular set of advantages, this method does not preclude or deemphasize the importance of any of the other methods of change. In fact, the intended result of libertarian political activity will be to emphasize the fundamental problem of any kind of political activity — the rule of men by men. Libertarians should work for the day when the political means of conducting relationships among men living in society will be reduced to its ultimate minimum level. But by any future projections the Era of Libertarianism remains a distant goal. As one who is interested in improving the ***present*** social climate, I maintain that political activity of some kind seems to be the most promising method of attaining meaningful change.

The basic fact that individual human effort does determine the course of future social direction must never be neglected. The important thing for any libertarian to realize is that without some kind of effective individual efforts, the kind of society libertarians visualize will never become real. Political activity can be ***one*** means of attaining that goal. Rather than condemning that method out of hand as ineffective, libertarians should allow experience and reality to be the ultimate judges of successful pro-life activity. ◻

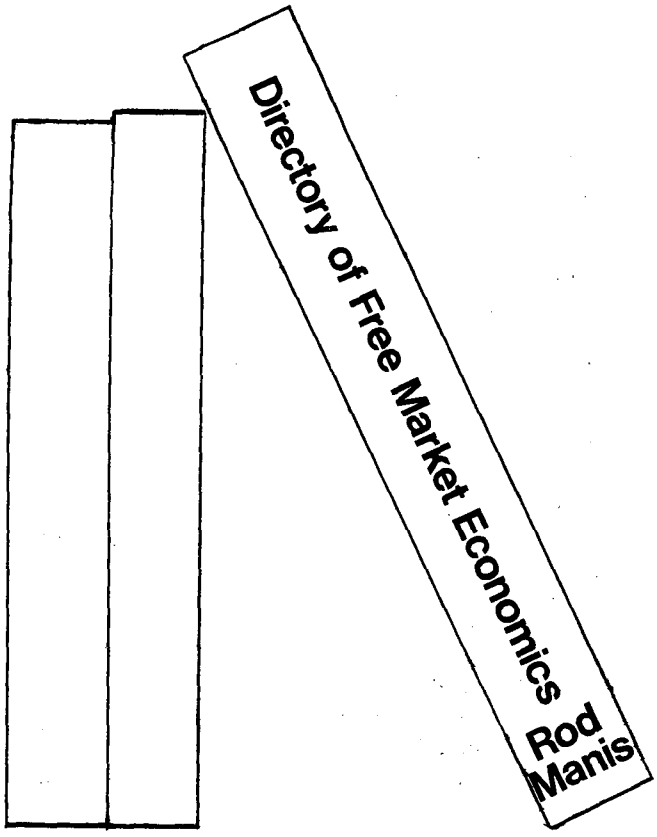
THE PURIST

Lewd
chuckling behind me
paused
my entrance for
a glance
at a frumpy
dog-faced woman
who knew the value
of a ticket.

"Film Commission,"
said she
to usher number three
and flashed
a red pass
as she pushed
ahead
of others who waited
for the skinny
flick.

Plopping
into her seat
she snickered
to her
companion
about the fun
in store.

Barbara L. Carpenter



The following is a list of books, journals, and articles which, in general, favor private property rights and free markets and oppose government intervention. Its purpose is to assist young people looking for answers to the prevailing collectivist myths.

Absolute *must* books are:

Milton Friedman, CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Well written and easy to read and understand, this book covers a broad range of important topics and is an essential beginning. People who find fault with Friedman almost always ignore the context in which he speaks; for example, he will often propose improvements to existing programs or policies that may only *move* us *toward* a free economy rather than being optimal in themselves. Friedman proposes the negative income tax as an improvement over existing programs, not as an ideal system. He has since stated that he considers a zero growth in the money supply optimal instead of the up-to-five-percent advocated in this book. Finally, recent works are tending to refute the belief that "neighborhood effects" justify intervention.

Rod Manis is an economist conducting research for the California Medical Association. He also teaches at California State College at Hayward and was formerly a research associate at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, California.

Armen A. Alchian and William R. Allen, UNIVERSITY ECONOMICS (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., Second Edition, 1967).

A textbook for college economics classes that is being used across the country, this is *the* introduction to sound economics. Read it from cover to cover including the questions and answers and you will make a giant step forward not only in understanding economics but in rational thinking and decision making. A shorter version is available in paperback that is just as good. (They simply deleted the left-over Keynesian nonsense that was needed to sell the textbook.)

• ◆ JOURNALS ◆ •

THE JOURNAL OF LAW & ECONOMICS (JL&E) is the foremost economics journal consistently publishing outstanding free market articles. A must set for economics major and very heavy. Students can get back copies I-X ('58-67) for a dollar a copy and Vol. XI on for $2 each. Write JL&E, University of Chicago Law School, 1111 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

THE NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW (NIR) published its last issue in 1969. Many great articles are in back issues that can be obtained for a dollar each ($13 for 14 available issues) from J. M. Cobb, 1367 East 56th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

THE FREEMAN is a monthly that you can receive for any donation you wish to make. It is light and easy to read, strong on basic principles presented simply. Great for beginners. Write Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York 10533.

• BOOKS and ARTICLES, by topic ◆

I. USE REGULATION

A. PROPERTY RIGHTS

R.H. Coase, "The Problem of Social Cost," *JL&E*, Vol. III (1960), p. 1.

Classic treatment of the "neighborhood effect" argument to show property rights as a solution.

Harold Demsetz, "Toward a Theory of Property Rights," *AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, Vol. LVII, No. 2 (May 1967), pp. 347-59.

John Locke, *THE SECOND TREATISE ON GOVERNMENT.*

Any publisher. Classic presentation of the right to private property, how it is acquired. All other discussion of politics and economics are merely a footnote to Locke.

Yale Brozen, "The Revival of Traditional Liberalism," *NIR*, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Spring 1965), p. 3.
Summarizes the new trend in economic research which is increasingly showing the failure of government intervention in many areas. Good overview.

B. CONSERVATION

Anthony Scott, "Conservation: Economic Aspects," *INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1968), Vol. 3, pp. 279-90.

Scott Gordon, "Economics and the Conservation Question," *JL&E*, Vol. I (1958), p. 110.
These two articles show that private property rights best promote conservation.

C. OTHER

Roger W. Weiss, "The Case for Federal Meat Inspection Examined," *JL&E*, VII(1964) p. 107.
Refutes Upton Sinclair (*THE JUNGLE*) and reviews foolish regulations.

Friedrich A. von Hayek, ed., *CAPITALISM AND THE HISTORIANS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).
Refutes the factory exploitation myth about the Industrial Revolution.

Lester G. Telser, "Advertising: Economic Aspects," *INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 106-11.

Scott Gordon, "The Close of the Galbraithian System," *JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*, Vol. 76, No. 4, Part 1 (July-August 1963), pp. 635-44.

II. PRICE CONTROLS

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

Yale Brozen, "The Untruth of the Obvious," *FREEMAN* (June 1968), p. 328.

Yale Brozen, "The Effect of Statutory Minimum Wage Increases on Teen-Age Employment," *JL&E*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (April 1969), pp. 109-22.

III. ENTRY RESTRICTIONS

A. REGULATORY AGENCIES

Gabriel Kolko, *RAILROADS AND REGULATION* (Princeton, New Jersey: University Press, 1965) and *THE TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATISM* (New York: Free Press, 1963).
"Kolko shows that, beginning with Theodore Roosevelt's New Nationalism and culminating in Wilson's New Freedom, in industry after industry, e.g., insurance, banking, meat, exports, and business generally, regulations that present-day Rightists think of as 'socialistic' were not only uniformly hailed, but conceived and brought about by big businessmen."—Murray Rothbard

Mary Bennett Peterson, *THE REGULATED CONSUMER*, (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971).

Yale Brozen, "Is Government the Source of Monopoly?" *THE INTERCOLLEGIATE REVIEW*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter 1968-69), pp. 67-68.
Estimates the cost of government monopoly at $50 billion a year.

Christopher D. Stone, "ICC:" Sam Peltzman, "CAB:" and Robert M. Hurt, "FCC:" *NIR*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Spring 1963), pp. 3-37.
Excellent review of these regulatory agencies and their harmful effects.

Reuben A. Kessel, "Price Discrimination in Medicine," *JL&E*, Vol. I (1958), p. 20.
Excellent history of doctors getting government to protect them from competition and some of the consequences of this.

George J. Stigler, "Public Regulation of the Securities Markets," *JOURNAL OF BUSINESS*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (April 1964), pp. 117-42.

R. H. Coase, "The Federal Communications Commission," *JL&E*, Vol. II (1959), p. 1.

Michael E. Levine, "Is Regulation Necessary? California Air Transportation and National Regulatory Policy," *YALE LAW JOURNAL*, Vol. LXXIV (July 1965), pp. 1416-47.

Jane Jacobs, "Why Cities Stagnate," *NEW AMERICAN REVIEW*, No. 6, New American Library: Signet Paperback, 1969.
Reviews the harmful effects of city planners on small entrepreneurs, especially the poor.

B. MONOPOLY

John S. McGee, "Predatory Price Cutting: The Standard Oil (N.J.) Case," *JL&E*, Vol. I (1958), p. 137.
Thorough debunking of the predatory price cutting myth and the myths about the business practices of the Standard Oil Trust.

Robert H. Bork, "The Supreme Court Versus Corporate Efficiency," *FORTUNE*, LXXVI (August 1967), p. 92.

Shows how recent decisions increasingly turn the anti-trust law against efficient sellers.

Harold Demsetz, "Why Regulate Utilities?" *JL&E*, Vol. XI (April 1968), pp. 55-66.

Outstanding analysis of how consumers will protect themselves from "natural monopolies" without any need for regulation.

Robert M. Hurt, "Antitrust and Competition," *NIR* Vol. 1, No. 4 (Winter 1962), pp. 3-12.

Shows that Antitrust has become injurious to efficiency and competition.

C. UNIONS

Albert Rees, "The Effects of Unions on Resource Allocation," *JL&E*, Vol. VII (1963), p. 69.

Albert Rees, *THE ECONOMICS OF TRADE UNIONS*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

D. DISCRIMINATION

Gary S. Becker, "Discrimination, Economic," *INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES* (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1968), Vol. 4, pp. 208-10.

W. H. Hutt, *ECONOMICS OF THE COLOUR BAR* (London: Institute Of Economic Affairs, 1964). Excerpts in *NIR*, Vol. 4, No. 3. (Spring, 1966), pp. 50-2.

Excellent history of how *socialist* and *marxist* led labor unions got Apartheid established in South Africa.

Thomas Jacobsen, "Laissez-Faire and the Chinese Persecutions in San Francisco," *RAMPART JOURNAL*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Fall 1968), pp. 39-44.

Tells how the Workingmen's Party in San Francisco used public health ordinances to limit the competition that whites were getting from successful Chinese enterprises and workers.

Gordon Tullock, "The Economics of Slavery," *LEFT AND RIGHT*, Vol. III, No. 2, (Spring-Summer 1967), pp. 5-16.

E. MONEY, INFLATION, AND DEPRESSION

Milton Friedman, "Real and Pseudo Gold Standards," *JL&E*, Vol. IV (1961), p. 66.

Important clarification of what a free market monetary system would be.

Albert L. Kraus, "Is Keynes Defunct?" *NEW YORK TIMES* (6 November 1968), p. 53.

Announcement of the victory of Friedman's monetary theory over Keynes' fiscal theories on the basis of recent developments.

IV. THE DRAFT

See all of the articles in *NIR*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Spring 1967).

John C. Miller III, ed., *WHY THE DRAFT?* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968).

V. SUBSIDIES

A. FARM SUBSIDY

D. Gale Johnson, "Government and Agriculture: Is Agriculture a Special Case?" *JL&E*, Vol. I (1958), p. 122.

B. URBAN RENEWAL

Martin Anderson, *THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

VI. GOVERNMENT BUSINESSES

A. IN GENERAL

William C. Wooldridge, *UNCLE SAM, THE MONOPOLY MAN* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1970).

William S. Vicrey, "Pricing in Urban and Suburban Transport," *AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, Vol. LIII, No. 2 (May 1963), pp. 452-65.

Suggessts how to apply the price mechanism used already on turnpikes to roads which are not limited-access highways.

B. EDUCATION

B. A. Rogge, "Financing Higher Education," *NIR*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1965), pp. 3-14.

E. G. West, "The Uneasy Case for State Education," *NIR*, Vol. 4, No. 2. (Winter 1966), pp. 38-49.

E. G. West, "The Political Economy of American Public School Legislation," *JL&E*, Vol. X (1967), p. 101.

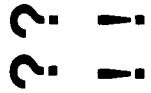
Erica Carle, "Education Without Taxation," *THE FREEMAN* (March 1962), p. 48.

.....

Continued to page 15.

.....

reason reader questionnaire



Please take a few moments to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. Your replies will help us in planning future issues of *REASON*.

1) How long have you been a *REASON* subscriber?
___ 1-3 months ___ 4-6 months ___ 7-12 months
___ over a year

2) What three *REASON* articles have you liked **best**?
A) _____
B) _____
C) _____

3) What three *REASON* articles have you liked **least**?
A) _____
B) _____
C) _____

4) What do you think of the following *REASON* features?

	Would like more of this	Would like less of this	Satisfied with present amount
Interviews	_____	_____	_____
Book reviews	_____	_____	_____
Movie reviews	_____	_____	_____
Poetry	_____	_____	_____
Trends	_____	_____	_____
Letters	_____	_____	_____

5) How many other people generally read your copy of *REASON*?
___ none ___ 1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 to 9 ___ 10 or more

6) Do you read *REASON*'s classified ads?
___ yes ___ no

7) Have you responded to a *REASON* classified in the past six months? ___ yes ___ no

8) What is you age group? ___ under 18 ___ 18-21
___ 22-29 ___ 30-39 ___ 40-49 ___ 50 and over

9) What is your marital status? _____
Number of children? _____

10) Do you: ___ own your own home ___ rent

11) Annual (pre-tax) household income: $_____

12) What is your occupation? _____
Highest degree obtained to date: ___ high school
___ BS/BA ___ MS/MA ___ PhD ___ MD/DDS ___ Other

13) Professional society memberships (if any):
_____
_____

14) Do you belong to any: ___ book clubs ___ record clubs

15) How many books did you read during the past year?
___ 0-5 ___ 6-10 ___ 11-25 ___ 26-50 ___ over 50

16) How many paperback books do you purchase per year?
___ 0-5 ___ 6-10 ___ 11-25 ___ 26-50 ___ over 50

17) How many hardcover books do you purchase per year?
___ 0-5 ___ 6-10 ___ 11-25 ___ over 25

18) How many recordings do you buy per year?
___ 0-5 ___ 6-10 ___ 11-25 ___ over 25

19) Do you subscribe to an investment advisory service?
___ yes ___ no

20) Have you ever purchased gold or silver coins or opened a foreign bank account? ___ yes ___ no

21) We welcome any further comments you might wish to make about *REASON*.

22) Which of the following magazines do you read *regularly*?

___ *BARRONS*
___ *HUMAN EVENTS*
___ *INDIVIDUALIST*
___ *NATIONAL REVIEW*
___ *NEW REPUBLIC*
___ *NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS*
___ *PSYCHOLOGY TODAY*
___ *RAMPARTS*
___ *SATURDAY REVIEW*
___ *SOCIETY (TRANS-ACTION)*
___ *SOL III*
___ *THE ATLANTIC*
___ *WASHINGTON MONTHLY*
___ Others (please list)

Tear out on dotted line, fold into thirds, and seal. No postage stamp required in U.S.

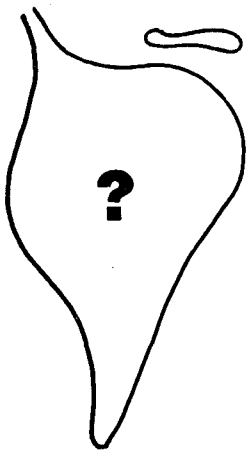
Business Reply Mail
No postage stamp necessary if mailed in U.S.A.

First Class Permit No. 456 Santa Barbara

reason
p.o. box 6151
Santa Barbara,
California 93105

foreign correspondent

n guillermo molinelli



For the benefit of *REASON* readers, the editors have asked me to write a column on the cultural/political scene of Latin America, an anticipation of which already appeared in the October 1971 issue. Whether this subject may be of any interest and/or use to you is something we shall soon find out. But merely supposing this column shall have a periodic recurrence, I believe it is worthwhile to point out, from the very beginning, certain facts which must be remembered when considering our theme. They are, in a nonexhaustive list, the following:

There is not a single and homogeneous Latin America. This continent is formed by very different countries, distinguished by a) their *cultures* (from traditional, Indian-hispanic societies to modern European-influenced ones); b) their *economic structures* (from pastoral to half-industrialized countries; c) their *climates* (hot, and cold, and humid, and dry, etc.; d) their *racial stocks* (there are zones where Indians are a majority—Mexico, Peru, Bolivia—others where whites prevail —Uruguay, Argentina—and still others where blacks comprise a majority—coast-line Brazil); e) their *natural resources* (from predominantly mining countries to predominantly agrarian ones, with large urban areas in between); and f) their *social structures* (zones where middleclasses are predominant and zones where they simply do not exist).

All these differences account for some surprising comparisons; middleclass inhabitants of Buenos Aires (Argentina) or Sao Paulo (Brazil) probably have more in common, culturally speaking, with inhabitants of Rome, Paris, or New York than with poor Indians living in the forests of Paraguay, the hills of Peru, or any other non-urban zone.

On the other hand, of course, there are mutual interests and common characteristics (all pertaining to the "Latin" world). But whenever a broad generalization is made, it generally leaves aside some millions of individuals, some countries and/or some important phenomena. This does not mean one cannot talk of "Latin America"; one can, and sometimes must, always keeping in mind—or explicitly mentioning—the differences.

There are no libertarians in Latin America. In fact, there are no "libertarians" elsewhere than the U.S.A., if we disregard, as I believe we should, isolated ones (like myself and some old-anarcho-socialists still calling themselves that way). This "uniqueness" of U.S.A. libertarians obstructs the understanding of social reality outside the U.S.A. and, consequently, causes wrong estimations and actions when confronting such reality. When alternative possibilities are considered in the U.S.A., it is always an element in such analysis that there is in existence a small minority or libertarians with a *measurable* voice and influence. It would be very different if it were not; it would be just like everywhere else.

The preceding fact is merely part of a much bigger one: *the ideological spectrum in the U.S.A. is very different from the one prevalent in the rest of the world, including Latin America*. U.S.A. is definitely more "capitalist oriented" than all other countries and, on "civil liberties," the U.S.A. is, *in general*, the freest country in the world: opposition to the Viet Nam war, the mere proposal of a volunteer army, and "Oh Calcutta!" all at the same time are *unthinkable* phenomena in almost any other country, where they would be regarded, respectively, as treason, unserious, and outrageous.

Capitalism never had a chance in Latin America. This same affirmation, although generally true, is in itself an example of the kind of assertions criticized before in this column as too general. But if properly explained it is useful. We all know that "laissez-faire" capitalism never existed totally *anywhere*. Yet, regarding Latin America, it must be stressed that an economic system primarily based on the profit motive, private property, and the free market existed even less. Qualifying this assertion we must recognize that, in some countries, something approximating it existed for some time (and the relative past prosperity of these countries is, in great part, atributable to it). But it was never really "internalized" by a majority. And yet, the poverty and injustice still comparatively prevailing (and which the said half-capitalism eradicated in part) are, in the mind of all people, a failure of capitalism and/or a consequence of imperialistic policies of capitalist countries.

Given this necessary introduction, I shall focus now on some of the most important political/social processes now developing in Latin America. I refer to *the last elections in Chile and Uruguay*. This analysis shall be useful as a further and more concrete introduction toward the subject of this column and, also, as the starting point for the consideration of *a libertarian approach to Latin American reality*.

The events I shall refer to happened within a given *context*, formed, basically, by the following facts: 1) the emergence, in the last 10-15 years, of the so-called *Third World*, a group of countries underdeveloped and excolonies, which follow an "independent" foreign policy (in relation to the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.), a statist road to economic development, and which, collectively have a newly acquired influence at the United Nations;

N. Guillermo Molinelli is an attorney in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He is also an instructor in political science at the School of Law of the University of Buenos Aires.

2) The Marxist strategical theory that a socialist taking of power in the U.S.A. or Europe is improbable (the May 1969 riots in France helped to reveal the basic "conservative" attitude European workers are developing). Therefore, revolution must come through an encircling operation (of a nonmilitary nature) of the underdeveloped countries, being "liberated" and socialist against the developed countries. Then these last cannot "exploit" the first anymore, capitalist countries shall enter into a crisis, so the argument goes, and socialism shall reach them (of course, if Nixon continues with his present New Economic Policy, this "encircling" shall *not* be necessary);

3) In the underdeveloped countries not yet "liberated," there are *three* alternative courses of action for revolutionary movements: **free elections, rural guerilla,** or **urban guerilla.** Restricting our analysis to Latin America, we can see that the second alternative was successful in Cuba (although this is debatable, since Castro appeared, at the beginning, as the leader of a merely democratic anti-Batista movement and only late made evident his totalitarian ideology), and unsuccessful elsewhere (the failure of the Venezuelan guerrillas and, more fundamentally, the death of Argentine Che Guevara in Bolivia showed the scarce possibilities of this course). Based on the now famous minibook of the late Brazilian Carlos Marighella, the urban guerilla—third alternative—was increasingly adopted by young Marxists. Yet, despite some spectacular successes typical of all kinds of well-organized terrorism, these guerilla movements are isolated from the population and, although capable of effective strikes against the Establishment such as kidnappings and hold-ups, they are also incapable of taking the Power, which is, after all, their purpose.

CHILE

In this context, Socialist Allende's victory last year entered as a new fact. It added a new and active member to the Third World, meant another step in the encircling theory, and gave new brilliance to the first alternative—free elections—completely disregarded by young Marxists as illusory.

Briefly, Allende was the candidate of a coalition of several parties: Socialist, Communist (these two being the more important), a small group of exChristian-Democrats, and a majority of the traditional Radical Party. This coalition won 36% of the votes, but obtained the support, in the Electoral College, of the Christian-Democratic Party, thanks to an agreement on, basically, two points: structural reform of economic/social institutions and the compromise of the coalition to respect democratic institutions (mainly, freedom of the press, free elections, freedom in education).

In spite of these "safeguards" it was conceded at the time by most commentators that it was only a matter of time before the so-called "copper curtain" would descend over Chile. These pessimistic prognosticators pointed to past coalitions in which the Communist Party took part and finally dominated. Yet, historical record, in this matter, was not so clear-cut:

a) The Chilean Communist Party was once already a part—in a minority position—of a Popular Front, when Radical Gonzalez Videla was elected Presidente back in 1946. But it was dumped in 1948 and declared illegal;

b) The Spanish Communist Party during the Civil War, was—in comparison with other important parties (Socialist, Anarchists, Trotskyites) more "moderate" [1];

c) Arbenz' regime at Guatemala in the 50s was crushed by a Central Intelligence Agency-backed armed invasion;

d) De Gaulle's first "Ministre d'Etat" after the Liberation was Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the French Communist Party and a staunch Stalinist.

All these examples, although having essential differences with the present Chilean situation, show that "historical record" as such, does not "prove" that, once in power, Marxists are never displaced (if you think of East European countries, remember the presence of the Soviet Army).

Also, it must be noticed that the Communist Party, all over the world, has taken the same "moderate" position that it took at the time of the Spanish Civil War and is being accused by more revolutionary Marxists of being "objectively in support of capitalism" [2]. In Chile itself, a guerilla group called M.I.R. (never mind what these initiials mean) said, of Allende's victory, that his regime would not be able to transform Chile into a socialist country and they proposed then the continuance of terrorism. As a matter of fact, Allende belongs to the more moderate, minority faction of the Socialist Party which, as a whole, is more extremist that the Communist Party itself.

At the time, the first reaction of the Chilean middle and high classes was downright *panic*. Lots of money went to Switzerland, U.S.A., Spain, and Argentina. Many wealthy Chileans traveled around considering possible places to establish themselves. *But finally there was no mass emigration*. This fact became a very important one in the process that followed.

The record shows that after one year of socialist rule, Chile has *not* become another "popular democracy." There has certainly been implied a swift move toward a further nationalization of economic activities, but this has not yet meant the abolition of private property [3]. But the main question is of a political nature: would the Marxists, once in power, respect the press, the existence of political parties, dissenting opinions? Despite some isolated attempts of coercion, the fact is that a police state is *not functioning* in Chile, with the last free elections being a good example of this.

On January 16 two simultaneous and partial elections were held in the Provinces of O'Higgins and Linares in order to replace a resigning representative and a dead Senator. Culminating the action of a vigorous and intelligent opposition in the Congress (where opposition parties are a majority), the National Party (rightist) officially supported the Christian-Democratic candidate for Senator, who won; at the representative elections the Christian-Democratic Party, allowed its followers freedom of action (meaning if not formally, *in fact*, support for the National Party candidate, who also won. *Therefore, at both elections, after one year of Marxist rule, free elections were held and the nonMarxist opposition won, the theme of the campaign being, precisely, the support, or not, of the socialist experiment.*

This result may be analyzed from several points of view. The one I am particularly interested in is that these elections, however partial, show what an intelligent, nonhistoric opposition can do in the face of a Marxist government. Notice, in the first place, that in spite of an almost universal pessimistic prognosis, *the Chilean bourgeoisie stayed.* This is an all important factor against this kind of regime, since the presence of a nonco-operative, resistant middle class sabotages all the propaganda efforts these regimes need to stabilize and proceed with their program. Chile is full now of boards exhorting laborers to work harder. Besides the fact that this exhortation must come as some sort of anticlimax to many workers who thought socialism meant instant "dolce far niente," the whole propaganda effort is cut down by the immediate dispersion of counter arguments from the opposition through the still existent free press, by word of mouth, etc.

This is why the permanence of the Chilean middle class has been so important, helped with the cautious, nonprovocative but critical attitude of the nonMarxist press. The massive propaganda of socialist regimes can only have success in the absence of opposition (critics demoralize, divide, etc.). If, as in Cuba, a massive emigration had occurred, no source of opposition would have been left to keep vigil against Marxism.

Another fact to be considered is that despite the move toward statism, and because of the said non-emigration, *antigovernment forces still have economic power*, which usually translates also into social and political power. The situation would have been entirely different if all private business had been left behind by emigrating owners. Also, if all professionals who engage in private practice had left the country, opposition forces would have been without some important "piece de resistance," such as professional organizations, an independent judicial power, etc. In other words, if the so-called "private sector" is reduced by a government to a 30% proportion and if this policy causes the emigration of the owners and producers of the remnants of that private sector, no doubt about it, there shall not be any private sector at all. This will mean, in political terms (the level at which this analysis stands) the lack of any influence of the then nonexistent private sector in the society at large and a much easier and quicker road to serfdom.

(This does *not* at all imply a value judgement from a moral point of view of any emigrant unhappy with the situation of his country. Obviously, I believe any individual has (or should have) the right, both morally and legally, to look for a better "milieu" in which fully to develop his potential as a human being. The preceding analysis accounts for the fact that only a very few of those living in *any* country are willing to transport themselves to another spot on earth and that only in the face of a physical danger a massive emigration occurs.)

Also, *the cool attitude of Nixon's government regarding the takeover of copper mines* has been beneficial to the internal opposition. Those historic, disproportionate, and generally unexecuted threats some U.S. Senators are prone to enunciate against any government, country, or group who does anything which is wrong in their eyes do not really help either the internal nonchauvinistic forces, the "free-enterprise" cause, or American foreign policy, inasmuch as they are obviously from representatives of special interest groups, disdainful of a sane attitude of careful analysis of facts, hearing both parties, and attending to sensitive and sometimes subtle but important legal considerations. (Example: a few years ago, the Argentine government declared null and void several contracts signed in 1958 with American oil firms. In the immediate judicial process that followed—in which the law office the writer belongs to represented one of those firms—a "no-innovation" order was easily obtained, to be enforced until the termination of the process, therefore preserving adequately the rights of the parties involved. Not one oil well was occupied by the government. The foreign companies continued production as always. Yet, in U.S. newspapers the news merely consisted of a headline, "Argentine Government Confiscates Oil Business," with the corresponding uproar and disregard of the fact that the government sincerely believed the contracts were null and void, a matter which after all was a *legal* controversy. After some time a settlement was arrived at and some of those oil companies are happily extracting oil and earning money.

These Chilean elections were partial, only two seats were in contest, but their relevance is much greater. They provide the opposition parties with a guaranteed (proved) strategy and give them more "glamour" (the so-called "winning glamour"), necessary to attract a sizable number of insecure, exitist voters. They also cut down the arrogance and impulse of the socialists (there has already been a Cabinet crisis) and finally, they provided an *image* of popular support to any armed resistance, which, conceivably, the opposition might have to turn to if, as an indirect consequence of this election, some Marxist groups pressure for a total and immediate installation of a Communist regime with the adjunct police state. Until now, any proposition to resort to the national Army to depose Allende would have been impossible; but now the situation has changed. Yet, this writer still thinks that *every effort should be made to defeat Marxism in Chile through legal means, resorting to violence only in answer to repression.*

I must add that I do *not* mean to say that I absolutely believe Chile shall *not* develop into a police state. I merely say that the pessimistic prognoses have not been honored; the existence of an active and politically imaginative middleclass obstructs—sometimes very successfully—the road toward a Marxist dictatorship; the free election of a Marxist government does not automatically imply that any "curtain" has fallen down; and it is *possible* that Chile shall remain within the nonMarxist countries and that the next President shall be exPresidente Eduardo Frei (Christian-Democrat), this time elected with the support of the National Party.

URUGUAY

In Uruguay, as perhaps you already know, general elections of President and Representatives were held last November. I traveled to Montevideo and stayed the whole weekend (election day was Sunday) and therefore I can give *REASON* readers a personal account of what happened there. Thetwo traditional parties are the "Colorado" (Red) and the "Blanco" (White) parties, who alternate in government periodically and comprise around 80% of the votes. There are, also, some small parties (Communist, Socialist, Demo-Christian, etc.) without any relevant success. The Colorado Party has been, traditionally, a center-of-left party,

predominantly urban, internationalist, statist, very much like the Radical parties of Western Europe between the World Wars. The Blanco Party, traditionally, has been more conservative, predominantly rural, nationalist, even chauvinistic, and reactionary. Both parties are deeply divided within themselves in various groups, up to a point that some "colorados" are nearer to some "blancos" than to some "colorados" and vice versa.

After Allende's victory in Chile last year, the Left imagined it was possible to repeat the Chilean experience and promoted a so-called "*Frente Amplio*" (Wide Front), with the support of the Christian-Democratic Party, Socialists, Communists, and some dissident leftist factions from both traditional parties.

The prospects for nonMarxists were ominous. The Frente Amplio comprised all the Left, in a country badly mismanaged and suffering a tremendous economic crisis, with deep social unrest and widespread discontent, and the ever present menace of terrorism personified by the urban guerilla group called "Tupamaros." Given that context, the possibilities of the Frente were good indeed. Colorado leaders told me personally, the night of the election as the votes were counted, that they were afraid of losing Montevideo (the capital city) and, "God save us," the entire country.

The fact is that after the count, the Frente Amplio suffered a tremendous defeat (they came in third in the whole country, far behind the other two parties, and were second in Montevideo). This result is in part the consequence of the determined stand made by the Uruguayan middleclasses against the "red threat" and of the traditional appeal of both traditional parties among workers and farmers. I was a witness on the Saturday evening before Election Day to an exciting car parade called "Marcha por la Democracía" (Parade for Democracy) which invaded Montevideo and was formed by both Colorado and Blanco sympathizers. The common slogan was "It Doesn't Matter Who Wins, Colorado or Blanco, As Long As the Frente Amplio Doesn't Win."

CONSEQUENCES AND LESSONS

The consequences for my country—Argentina—of these two elections in the bordering countries of Uruguay and Chile have been very important. At the time of Allende's victory, Argentines suddenly contemplated the ominous prospect of a Marxist Chile at our western border, a logical fountainhead for guerilla attacks and propaganda. It would have certainly meant the same if the Frente Amplio had won at Uruguay, our eastern frontier. More generally, these two elections have been a tremendous setback for Marxism in the southern part of Latin America.

Another consequence relates to the global strategy of Marxism in this area. We had already seen that rural guerillas had failed and that urban guerilla are also isolated from the people. The first alternative—free elections—was, during 1971, the newly attractive road to socialism. *Both elections show the lack of any really successful strategic option for the Marxist movement.*

Finally, the lessons to be derived from both experiences, are to my judgement, the following:

1) In the last instance, the more effective barrier against a Communist dictatorship is the existence of a national (local) bourgeoisie, determined and politically sophisticated. No foreign pressure, no foreign aid, no foreign army can help, if there is not a sufficient number of people willing to stay and fight.

2) It is urgent to disengage the U.S.A government from the private business adventures of U.S.A. citizens and corporations in foreign countries.

3) It is necessaryto avoid hardline policies from some U.S.A. leaders, generally conservatives, which only help to encourage an internal front against "those damn yankees," a front from which the only beneficiaries are, of course, the local nationalists and statists.

4) Do not let your local protectionists use the excuse of hostile Latin American governments to sustain and impose discriminating tariffs, quotas, and barriers against Latin American goods, which only cause further poverty and hate at both ends of the line.

5) Don't panic, stay cool.

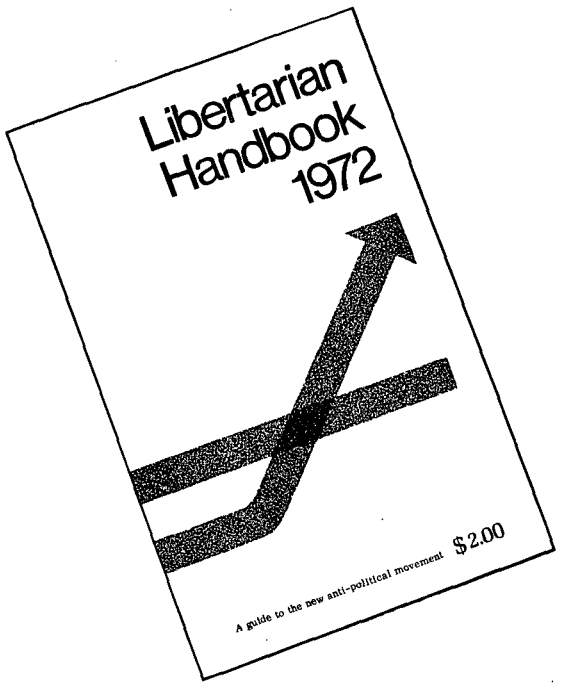
NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] See Hugh Thomas "La Guerra Civil Espanola," ed. Ruedo Ibérico, Paris, 1962; and Pierre Broué "Trotzky y la guerra civil espanola," ed. Jorge Alvarez, Bs. As., 1966. Anarchist and Trotzkyite accounts of the war generally accuse the Spanish Communist Party of losing the war, due to its opposition to the abolition of private property during the war. The argument says that if this reform had been implemented, the worker-and peasantclasses living under "nationalist" dominance would have seen its true wishes in action and raised against its oppressors. From their point of view, it is not a wild idea.

[2] As a noted Trotzkyite author says the Soviet Union is now gradually integrating herself to the international market to become "the public sector of the capitalist world" (Jorge, Semprun, "La deuxiéme mort de Ramon Mercader," ed. Gallimard, Paris, 1969).

[3] If you counterargue with the takeover of copper mines, there are several qualifications to take note of. In the first place, bear in mind that the victim of the takeover is a *foreign* corporation; however disgraceful it may seem to us internationalist libertarians, it is common to all countries (including the U.S.A.—ask, for example, if a foreign bank can act within U.S.A. territory with the same rules that a national one has; it cannot, being subjected to discriminatory rules), a discriminatory attitude toward foreign capital and/or foreign citizens in subtle but nevertheless effective ways. Also, from a formal point of view, the problem at present does not seem to involve indemnity, but concerns reaching an agreement over amounts and modes of payment (cash vs. bonds), plus an eventual compensation against taxes supposedly owed by the foreign enterprises. I happened to *think*—without much concrete evidence—that the truth belongs, probably, to the U.S. firms, but the problem is not that simple. Finally, remember that perhaps (I am *not* sure but it is very probable) nor is the American public any more sure , this is not a matter of expropriation of "property" but of cancellation of a "permit" which is entirely different. Besides, unless one uses an extremely fine criterion, *one* violation of the principle of private property (supposing there is "property" involved) does not really mean that the principle of private property has been abolished. If this were the case, this institution would not exist in any country at all, including the U.S.A. ◻

Now Available!



the Libertarian Handbook 1972

Once upon a time, you had to consult five or six listings to get a fair idea of the libertarian groups, periodicals, and spokesmen in America.

But now you can turn to one comprehensive 100-page, up-to-the-minute guide to the libertarian movement--the Libertarian Handbook! The names, addresses, and services of every major organization and publication are at your fingertips--along with an explicit description of their goals and orientation. Plus a thorough listing of libertarian books (fiction and non-fiction), plays, cinema, and music, a study of differing libertarian strategies, a discussion of libertarian positions on current isssues, and a description of the variants of libertarianism. If you're involved with libertarianism--or even just interested--this is one book you should have.

Send $2. to

The Libertarian Handbook--1972
15 Yale Street, Winchester, Mass. 01890

Order today!

trends

NEW COUNTRY PROCLAIMED

"A Nation, from Pacific Depths," read the headline on the front page of the Sunday San Francisco *HERALD-EXAMINER*. There, in a thousand word article, correspondent John Forbis described the announcementby the Ocean Life Research Foundation of the founding of the Republic of Minerva on the Minerva reefs, 400 miles south of the Fiji Islands. Spokesman Michael Oliver, cofounder and director of the Foundation, was quoted declaring, "We want to create a society which will not repeat the mistakes of others," namely the interlocking of politics and economics. "Government, in [Oliver's] view, should have no authority to control free enterprise, taxes, tariffs, and trade restrictions are basically 'immoral.' The Republic of Minerva will eliminate such evils." The article pointed out the philosophical inspiration for the new country plan: the writings of economist Ludwig von Mises and novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand. "Both authors maintain that only total economic freedom can bring about the salvation of modern society."

Thus far the first pioneers have laid the basis for the Foundation's claim to sovereignty over the reefs. Having established that the reefs were unclaimed by existing nations, they have set about to occupy and improve them. Beginning in August 1971, a work crew began raising the land area above the high-tide level, erected 26-foot marker towers bearing beacons and reflectors, and hoisted the Republic's flag. Hired Australian dredges will soon begin hauling up sand from the lagoon at South Minerva, to produce up to 400 acres of dry land. Oliver also has plans to construct a 10,000-inhabitant floating city in the lagoon. $180,000 had been invested in the project as of March.

The group's consul general designate, attorney Owen Claridge, is seeking recognition of the Republic as a sovereign state. Claridge points out that all established precedents of international law have been adhered to. A proclamation has been sent to heads of state around the globe. So far both Fiji and Tonga, the two nearest governments, have reacted with hostility, and the premier of the Cook Islands has agreed with them, pointing out that there are similar unclaimed reefs all over the Pacific. With their pretensions of sovereignty over vast areas *threatened*, it appeared likely that most South Pacific governments would oppose Minerva. Nonetheless independent legal opinion confirms the validity of the Republic's claim.

SOURCE:

"A Nation from Pacific Depths," by John Forbis, San Francisco *HERALD-EXAMINER*, 5 March 1972.

FINANCING GOVERNMENT

A perennial problem for advocates of noncoercive government is the problem of financing it without resort to coercive taxation. One proposal not often considered is the use of a government-run lottery. In the face of growing fiscal crises and taxpayer revolts, five eastern states have recently established state lotteries. The first to do so were New York and New Hampshire several years ago, followed by New Jersey in 1971 and Pennsylvania and Massachusetts so far in 1972. From all indications to date, the lottery appears to be a successful way to raise revenue.

New Jersey's lottery is far and away the most successful, bringing in over $60 million in its first year. Its greater success than neighboring lotteries is due to a superior marketing approach; specifically, providing inexpensive (50 cent) tickets, more frequent drawings (weekly), and a large number of sales outlets (over 4,000). As many as six first prizes of $50,000 are awarded weekly; in addition, periodic drawings are held for the $1,000,000 top prize. The lottery's income is broken down as follows: 25% goes for operating expenses and commissions, 45% for prizes, and 30% is revenue for the state—in this case, pledged to higher education.

In addition to illustrating that non-coercive revenue raising is possible, the new state lotteries raise important questions about the state's role in regulating individual conduct. If gambling is "immoral" or "antisocial," as claimed by legislators who have traditionally outlawed it, how can it suddenly become acceptable when used to raise state revenue? The new lotteries expose the state's hypocrisy in prohibiting voluntary actions such as gambling. Once the state sanctions gambling, it undercuts its case for prohibiting other forms of "anti-social" conduct such as various types of consensual sexual behavior, recreational drug use, and similar crimes-without-victims. Thus, the acceptance of state lotteries increases the chances for meaningful reform of the criminal law, in a libertarian direction.

SOURCES:

"The Lottery," Associated Press, 29 December 1971.

"Nine State Legislatures Active," *CRIMINAL JUSTICE NEWSLETTER*, 31 January 1972.

"New Lottery's Aim Assailed," UPI, 12 January 1972.

TAX SEIZURE CHALLENGED

A Portland, Oregon, chiropractor has challenged the power of the Internal Revenue Service to seize property for nonpayment of taxes. Dr. James A. Owen has for some time declined to pay Social Security taxes, on the grounds that he has the right to provide for his own retirement and to manage his own money. Dr. Owen correctly points out that "a man who invests as much money through private enterprise as Social Security takes fromhimwill easily get three times as much when he is 65, assuming that he begins when he is in his 20s."

Last November two IRS agents were dispatched to Owen's house to seize his car and trailer, after various threatening notices had not succeeded in inducing Owen to pay. (A previous seizure of his bank account had yielded only $200 of the $1300 the IRS alleges he owes.) Owen and various neighbors met the agents in his driveway, and while the neighbors blocked the way with their cars, Owen made a citizen's arrest of the agents, on grounds of trespass and attempted grand theft.

Owen was subsequently indicted by a federal grand jury. He is conducting his own defense, acting as his own attorney, on the procedural grounds that the IRS, as an executive agency, does not have the judicial authority to engage in property seizures, and that such arbitrary seizures by the IRS thereby deny him the due process of law guaranteed by the Constitution. Despite the fact that 14 other persons assisted Owen in his actions, the IRS has singled out him alone for prosecution. The other 14 have therefore signed an affidavit requesting to be "treated jointly and that all be equally brought to trial on the same charges," be tried equally with Owen, and be subject to the same penalties. Dr. Owen is preparing a brief, citing previous cases, to

prove that in order for due process to occur, the law must treat him equally, which means that all should be indicted or Dr. Owen should be dismissed of all charges.

In an unrelated East Coast case, a Massachusetts man has petitioned the federal government for conscientious objector exemption from the Social Security system. Since such status has been granted to such religious groups as the Amish, and since conscientious objection to the draft law has been granted on nonreligious ethical grounds, similar nonreligious exemption should be granted to Social Security objectors, the proponents argue.

SOURCES:

"Chiropractor Challenges U.S.," *THE OREGON JOURNAL*, 18 January 1972.

Press release of Dr. James A. Owen, January 1972. ◻

publisher's notes

• **QUESTIONNAIRE** – You will notice that this issue contains a subscriber questionnaire. We urge each subscriber to fill it out anonymously and return it (postage-paid). In doing so you will communicate to us your likes and dislikes, hopefully thereby improving *REASON* so that it is of greater value to you. You will also be furnishing us with data about yourself, so that we can prepare a more accurate "subscriber profile" for advertisers. This will help *REASON* to gain additional advertisers, thereby helping us to grow and prosper.

• **CHANGES OF ADDRESS** – The Circulation Department reminds you to send in pending changes of address at least *six weeks* in advance, to ensure proper service. *Don't* reply on just notifying the Postal Monopoly; they will let *us* know your address change by clipping the address label off your magazine and sending it to us, along with your new address (meanwhile tossing your magazine into the trash). For this service they charge us 10 cents. To avoid this hassle, and for the best *service*, send us your old address label six weeks in advance, along with your new address.

• **LIBERTARIAN CANDIDATES** – Two candidates for public office have been brought to *REASON*'s attention, both of whom are running on libertarian platforms (though not associated with the national Libertarian Party). Steven D. Symms, a Caldwell, Ohio, fruit grower, is running for Congress as a Republican, dedicated to "less government regulation and controls and a massive return to private enterprise." Symms states that "What this country needs is to respect property and human rights and to strive for maintaining free entry into the market for everyone. No favorites, no free lunches, and no exceptions."

In Poughkeepsie, N.Y., an IBM planner has announced his candidacy for the State Assembly. Guy W. Riggs is running as a libertarian independent, challenging the outworn ideas of both major parties. His literature states that "more and more people are getting unhappy with the government as provider and overseer," and says that he "would emphasize repealing laws, not passing them. [He] would mark for repeal those laws trying to legislate charity, fairness, or morality." His literature also recommends *LIBERTARIANISM* by John Hospers, for those wishing to know more about his philosophy.

• **TAX PROTEST RALLY**

About 100 people turned out April 9 for an anti-tax rally at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Sponsored by Libertarian Alternative, a media-oriented libertarian activist group based in southern California. Several tax strikers, who are refusing to pay income tax, were on hand. Speakers included Robert LeFevre, president of Rampart College, and entrepreneur (and poet) Henry Hohenstein. The rally drew significant radio and television coverage.

• Readers may be interested in the following articles:

James Wilson, "The Dead Hand of Regulation," *PUBLIC INTEREST*, Fall 1971.
Steven Lukes, "The Meaning of 'Individualism,' "*JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF IDEAS*, January-March 1971, p. 45.

Gordon Tullock, "The Fisheries, Some Radical Proposals," *ESSAYS IN ECONOMICS NO. 6*, February 1962, available from the University of South Carolina's Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Columbia, SC 29208. ◻

letters

NEWSPAPER KNOCKED

In the "Trends" column (*REASON* February 1972), you quote part of an editorial by Gene Pulliam, publisher of our local piece of high quality toilet paper (his afternoon paper, *The Phoenix Gazette*, is of much lower quality—it scratches.)

Lest you think that Mr. Pulliam is something even resembling a libertarian, please read his usual editorials.

He pleads for freedom in the editorial you quoted, yet manages to sanction Nixon's price-wage freeze in others. He calls for freedom and then advocates increased government control of just about everything.

In short, the newspapers here in Phoenix (both owned by Pulliam) daily advocate the very things that Pulliam rightfully complained about in the editorial you cite.

What makes this so funny is that an editorial recently appeared which noted that we are losing our freedom by default. That's true, but "de fault" lies with conservatives who never understand that principles must be followed consistently and not merely when the whim strikes them.

Mr. Pulliam and his newspapers deal with *words*, perhaps someday they will learn what a *concept* is.

Gregory Tobler
Glendale, Ariz.

P.O. PROFIT

Richard Balog, a vice president of the Independent Postal System of America (IPSA), was interviewed on WFLD'S *What's Happening* show in Chicago.

During the television discussion (unfortunately aired at 11:45 P.M. on February 7th) it was noted that IPSA now operates in 24 states and is turning a good profit while the Post Office Department lost $10 billion over the last decade.

Balog stated that the Post Office, now a "semi-private" corporation, must by law show a profit in 1980 and is permitted to raise its first-class rates 20% per year over the next five years. Conceivably, a letter may eventually cost twice as much to be delivered as it does now. IPSA is now seeking court action to break the first-class monopoly.

Another interesting point: only Balog and the host, Jerry G. Bishop, were present at the interview. Federal and City postal officials were invited to attend but all failed to show up because of "various reasons."

David J. Kramer
Joliet, Illinois

LE FEVRE'S "JUSTICE" CHALLENGED

Simply from its presence in your magazine I assume that Robert LeFevre's article "Justice on Trial" (*REASON*, February 1972) was to be taken seriously as libertarian thought. By libertarianism I mean the doctrine of laissez-faire capitalism. Presently, the usage of the word is so vague that any ideological freebooter can exploit it.

LeFevre has merely substituted anarchism (decentralized collectivism) with his own remedy (camouflaged anarchism), presented in perverted libertarian language. Accepting the anarchist premise, LeFevre opposed the idea of making retribution a marketable service on the valid ground that it would lead to gang warfare. He proposed instead that services of this type be limited only to protection where pseudo-constabulary firms, weapons producers, etc. compete with each other to provide defense services to consumers on a "free market" basis. Personal defense, according to LeFevre, should be the total responsibility of individuals. He also stated that in the first place the very idea of retribution was derived from religious dogmas and supported this point with irrelevant religious descriptions of extinct societies.

Is LeFevre's model any different from actual anarchism? How shall we be sure that the "protection agencies" do nothing more than protect? Shall we depend on everyone's voluntary cooperation based on their moral integrity, as LeFevre seems to propose but which he obviously cannot guarantee, or their moral duty, likewise unreliable, which he rightfully condemns as a "Pandora's box," or a government based on objective law which he is opposed to in the first place though it is the only rational solution? Can productive men function in a society where the only risk a thug encounters is the *resistance* of his victims? Is aggression to be viewed as someone's failure to defend himself? Mr. LeFevre, who denounced internecine warfare would say to an elderly woman who was beaten on the streets and had her groceries stolen, "Tough luck! The market rewards people according to their efficiency so that's what you get for not hiring armed body guards." If the woman asked for justice, LeFevre would tell her that she was deluded by an ancient mystic notion and that the wrong couldn't be erased anyway.

Justice is neither a science of retroactive correctional metaphysics nor a religious anachronism. It is the means by which men live together while still preserving their rights as individuals. LeFevre rendered justice meaningless by denying its only important tool: retaliation. Since nonretributional retaliation is a contradiction in terms, when there is no retaliation there is no justice, and when justice disappears freedom disintegrates.

Some vague semblance of justice is maintained even in a totalitarian state which, at best, LeFevre offers in the form of feudalism. At worst he offers a dark, primitive Darwinian battleground. LeFevre, rationalizing anarchy in capitalist language, offers the same toxic remedies as his fellow collectivists and is an insult to libertarianism.

This "objectivist" and "libertarian" dementia disturbs me more than the most hideous utterances of contemporary Leftist intellectuals simply because you grant it a rational respectability by printing it in your magazine. Let *REASON* magazine be a medium of reason. Do not permit it to become a collectivist vehicle. They have enough outlets elsewhere.

Tom Tanaka
Seattle, Wash.

Bob LeFevre's recent article on justice ("Justice on Trial," *REASON*, February 1972) contains an interesting analogy regarding the Ajax and Titan protection agencies which reminded me of a true to life (almost) incident which happened to my wife and I several months back.

While driving home from work one day, my wife was sideswiped by a motorist who was in a hurry to return home after work. After taking her car to the garage for an estimate, she notified the insurance company (Nationwide) that it would cost some $112 to repair the minor damages. It was then that we realized to our horror that the other driver was insured by Allstate insurance—a rival firm. Demanding that our rights be protected, we pleaded for action. Nationwide dispatched a squadron of crack troops to the home of the guilty driver. He, true to form, certainly did not permit rival agents to enter his home as he distrusted Nationwide. He was able to hold the Nationwide units at bay for the several hours that it took for Allstate troops to arrive. Now the two rival firms faced each other across a battleline. In the conflict which followed, seven were killed and twelve wounded—but Nationwide carried the day. Out of the charred ruins of his home the $112 was recovered and we were repayed.

Actually the matter was settled in an interagency negotiation; I received the $112, fixed the dent myself, and split the profit with my wife. I hope the point is made . . . .

Don Ernsberger
Philidelphia, Penn.

I have read Robert LeFevre's article "Justice on Trial". May I ask if Mr. LeFevre is completely unhinged?

Does he think that societies, from the time of Hammurabi to the present, punish wrongdoers for retaliation? The whole idea, as anybody knows, is to frighten people so they do not do wrongs.

Let me quote Henrik Ibsen (*PEER GYNT*): "When the premises are most wrong, the conclusions are most original."

Jan V. Garwick
Manhattan Beach, Calif.

classifieds

Classified ads are now available at 10c a word, $2.50 minimum

EMPLOYMENT

EMPLOYERS IN LOS ANGELES OR SAN FRANCISCO area: I am looking for permanent work, preferably involving public contact. I have a bachelors degree in business administration, plus a year's graduate study in philosophy. Resumé and references on request. Edith Nollman, 810 McKeehan Avenue, Rock Springs, Wyoming 82901.

WANTED: LIBERTARIAN/OBJECTIVIST ANNOUNCER. Bass, authoritative voice a must. Tape/resume to: Andrew Key, Program Director, *KOTE;* Box 1152; Lancaster, CA 93534.

HELP WANTED: L.A. AREA. 1) An individual who can take charge of a growing consumer oriented company just emerging from the test marketing stage. Must be able to handle: administration, manufacturing, and marketing, as well as interface with R & D. This company is multifaceted and will be a multimillion dollar firm in the ecology industry. Can you take charge?

2) An individual who is sales oriented and desires a profitable career in real estate and business financing. You will be seeking capital for investment in U.S. and foreign real estate and other business opportunities which will provide high returns to your clients. Do you like a return based on your efforts? If you think you qualify for either of these positions, send your resume today to Opportunity, Suite 238, 211 Yacht Club Way, Redondo Beach, Calif. 90277

PERIODICALS

OBJECTIVE REPORTING of the libertarian movement--monthly, by First Class Mail--in

A is A NEWSLETTER

News; future events; reviews of periodicals, books, products, services; and more. 2 sample issues, $1. Subscriptions, $5/12, $3/6. Satisfaction guaranteed. Dale Haviland, A-65, 9730 Hyne, Brighton, MI 48116

LIBERTARIAN CONNECTION, the free wheeling, creative think-tank by mail, now in its 4th year. Many approaches to freedom considered, from self-liberation to large scale activities. Sample 25 c. *Lisa Dawn,* Box 90913, Dept. R2, Worldway Postal Center, Los Angeles, CA 90009.

INTEGRITY! The magazine that *has* it! A monthly journal advocating liberty and happiness through reason, purpose, and self-esteem. Sample Copy: 50 cents, Latest Issue: $1.00. *INTEGRITY,* Dept. J, P.O. Box 305, Garfield, New Jersey 07026

CHECK YOUR PREMISES! *INVICTUS* issues 17 and 18 include parts I and II of George Smith's important paper, "Ayn Rand and the Right to Life: A Critical Evaluation." $1.00 for both issues. PO Box 737, Rosemead, Ca. 91770.

PERSONALS

I AM INTERESTED in meeting an attractive, mature young woman between 18-29 from the Boston area. I am 29, good looking, a professional musician in the process of establishing a career as a concert pianist, and am philosophically aligned with Objectivism. I've also raced cars, been a little league pitching star, a champion speller, am a long-distance runner, have an above average income, and live with my two Siamese cats and Ragnar, my Doberman Pinscher in an idyllic suburban community. If the sum of the preceding intrigues you and you feel you would be aesthetically and intellectually compatible with me, please write Box SS in care of *REASON* magazine.

TO THE WOMAN OF REASON and self esteem: I have always been without you since you're one of the rational minority and therefore so difficult to find. I have experienced frustrated lust for years. Contact me as soon as possible. Box RR, c/o *REASON.*

MALE, AGE 23, desires romantic relationship with Objectivist oriented female at least largely free of psychological hangups. Please write Box GG in care of *REASON* magazine.

BIOCENTRICALLY ORIENTED WOMAN, age 33, desires relationship with emotionally open man who loves life and wants to share it on a romantic level. Please write to Box JJ, care of *REASON.*

VIVACIOUS WOMAN, 48, seeks a man who wants to express his total person in a shared and deeply rewarding love relationship. Please reply Box HH, *REASON* magazine.

47-YR. OLD FEMALE, who is nurse-writer, desires romantic relationship with man who supports basic tenets of Libertarianism, Objectivism, and/or Branden's Biocentric Psychology. Please write Box CC in care of *REASON* magazine.

ATTRACTIVE, BIOCENTRICALLY ORIENTED thirty-five year old female would enjoy correspondence with male exploring same philosophy in Michigan area. Please write to Box KK in care of *REASON.*

MALE, AGE 30, height 5' 6", needs female crewmember for duo sailing voyage around the world. Anticipated departure in about ten years. Sign up now --- we'll need lots of practice! *Loren Moltedo,* 3217 Mahan Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32303.

DETROIT-AREA OPEN HOUSE for libertarian activists is scheduled for May 20th. Free refreshments. Contact Pete, Box 1069, Southgate, MI 48195 for details.

PRODUCTS

LIBERTARIAN STREET POSTERS (11" x 17") --- Read Atlas Shrugged; Your Money And Your Life!; Nixonomics - Phrase 3? (depicting Nixon as economic feuher). Sample packet (6 different posters), $1.00. WHO IS JOHN GALT? buttons (gold on black), 5 for $1.00. *New Right Coalition,* 330 Dartmouth Street, Boston, MA 02116.

"LAISSEZ-FAIRE" BUMPERSTICKERS, $.50 each. Big, black letters on brilliant orange background. Attention-getting, but small enough (3" x 14") for small car bumpers. R. L. Archibald, P.O. Box 662, Calimesa, Calif. 92320

$$ PROMOTE CAPITALISM $$ Wear a dollar sign. New 3/4" 14K gold lapel pin or tie stick pin. Available now. Insured & prompt delivery. Only $13.00. (Quantity discount). David Hester, 3230 Carlisle No. 334, Dallas, Texas 75204. 1-214-744-0013.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE BOOKSTORE
More than 700 books in the LIBERTARIAN and ROMANTIC traditions. Plus magazines, posters, original works of art and more. Browsers welcome. LAISSEZ-FAIRE BOOKSTORE, 208A Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012.

Avenue Victor Hugo announces....

FICTION

a monthly magazine

for the arts of storytelling

PROSE

POETRY

AND

DRAMA

June · 75 cents

To stop and listen to the words of a storyteller
Is to replenish the spirit which will carry you forth.

Are YOU a starving reader?

Do you love a good story, but you read the same works again and again? Does fine poetry set you dreaming, but what you've seen lately could not be called fine,...or even poetry? Does drama excite you; is there a touch of Cyrano in your soul, and your soul is aching?

Read FICTION!

Take advantage of one of these special introductory offers!...

( ) Enclosed is my check for $7.00. Please begin my full year's subscription—a savings of $2.00—PLUS send me my first issue FREE!

( ) I enclose $4.00. Please begin my six month trial subscription—a savings of $1.00—PLUS send me my first issue FREE!

( ) Please send me a free sample copy—I understand that I must pay full price, if I later decide to subscribe.

Name: _____ Town: _____

Street: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

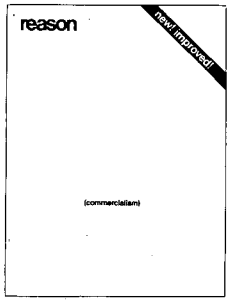
Write to: AVENUE VICTOR HUGO, Box 322, Manchester, Vt. 05254

Regular subscription price $9.00 per year.

These offers are good BEFORE June 1st ONLY!

These are the lowest prices which will ever be advertised—PERIOD!

a unique magazine for the person who thinks....



JANUARY 1971 **75¢**

Volume 2 , Number 10 contains "In Defense(?) of Advertising" by Lanny Friedlander - on the aesthetics of free trade; "Highjacking the Taxpayer" by Robert Poole, Jr. - pointing out who really pays for airline highjackings; A detailed deeence of Indian property rights by Rosalie Nichols; A short critique of anarchism by Tibor Machan; And a review of " I.M OK--YOU'RE OK " by Marilyn Walther. Act now to get one of the few copies left of this issue.

JUNE 1971 **75¢**

REASON's special issue on social change, devoted to the problems of achieving a libertarian society. Includes "An Anthropological Perspective on Social Change " by Lynn Kinsky, "Leverage Points for Social Change" by Robert Poole Jr., "On Securing Liberty"by Tibor Machan, reviews of FUTURE SHOCK and VALUES AND THE FUTURE, and many special features. A real collector's item!!!

you can order copies of these popular issues delivered to your home postpaid

Subscriptions to *REASON* are still priced at only $7.50 for a full year (twelve issues). If you are not yet a subscriber, or would like to purchase a gift subscription for a friend, teacher, or library, act before May 1,1972 to obtain the current low rate.

send check or money order to ...

reason

Box 6151 Santa Barbara California 93111